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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



1939

No. 4

**SPAIN
AND THE CAPITULATORS**

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA
UNDER THE YOKE OF HITLER**

**THE EUROPEAN COLONIAL EMPIRE
OF GERMAN FASCISM**

**THE WEAKNESS
OF ITALIAN FASCISM**

LENIN AND WORKING CLASS UNITY

**EDITORIAL: THE 18th BOLSHEVIK CONGRESS
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ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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CONTENTS

Editorials

May Day Manifesto	E.C.C.I.	291
The Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks and the International Working Class		296
Spain and the Capitulators		312
The Working Class in the Fight for Peace		316
The Right Wing of the Labor Party and Cripps		319
Juvenile Crime Under the Nazis		322
The Election of the New Pope		325

Theory and Practice of the Labor Movement

Czechoslovakia Under the Yoke of Hitler	K. GOTZWALD	328
The European Colonial Empire of German Fascism	K. FUNK	336
The Weakness of Italian Fascism	F. LANG	345
The Working Class and the Struggle for North Schleswig	R. MAGNUS	352
Lenin and the Unity of the Working Class	P. DENGEL	361
Walter Stoecker	W. FLORIN	370

Bibliography

Stalin's Book on Lenin	M. NAUMOWA	373
A Chronicle of the Decay in Germany		377
From the Communist Party of Germany		381

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May Day Manifesto

WORKING people, fifty years ago May 1 became the militant day of international proletarian solidarity. For the first time in the history of the labor movement the proletariat demonstrated in the cities of the world as an organized international force under the immortal battlecry of *The Communist Manifesto*, "Workers of all countries, unite!"

In the course of these fifty years the might of the working class has grown. More than once has it waged severe battles against its mortal enemy, the bourgeoisie, more than once has it inflicted defeat upon the bourgeoisie; it has itself suffered reverses only to rise again as the hero of epic fame in order to strike at the enemy with even greater force.

In 1917 the Soviet working class, the shock brigade of the international proletariat, became master of one-sixth of the earth's surface. This constituted an epoch-making victory for the international proletariat, from the consequences of which its class enemy shall never recover. The Soviet working class has cleaved the world capitalist system, it has ushered in the epoch of world proletarian revolution. By its victory the Soviet working class created a powerful base for the liberation movement of the working people of all countries. It equipped the impregnable fortress of the world proletariat, the U.S.S.R., with the material forces of victorious socialism.

Never before has the star of socialism shone with such brilliancy as today. At the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks the great continuer of the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the leader and teacher of the working people of all countries, Comrade Stalin, turned over a new page in the history of mankind—

the completion of the construction of a classless society in the U.S.S.R. and the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

In the annals of the momentous victories of socialism the peoples of the capitalist countries, languishing in the chains of slavery, fascist terror and war, see the living proof of the invincible might of the working class. They curse their present lot and in communism see their future. In a bond of fraternal friendship, in unison, the peoples of the Soviet Union are building the lofty edifice of communism, an edifice flooded with sunshine and light, abounding in human happiness and joy. Their great experience is a clarion call to all the oppressed and destitute throughout the world to follow the path of Lenin and Stalin, the path of socialist revolution, the only path leading to the emancipation of working humanity.

Boundless is the suffering imposed upon the working people of the capitalist countries. For them the present day brings with it crisis, unemployment and poverty. It brings from the gang of fascist oppressors mockery, prisons and concentration camps. It brings a chain of crimes committed by the fascist rulers against the liberty and independence of the nations. It brings sanguinary imperialist slaughter, unleashed by the fascist freebooters.

For almost three years the Spanish people fought heroically against the fascist marauders who invaded their country. The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie were strangling the Spanish people with the noose of "non-intervention." With the support of the capitulators in the leading circles of the Second International, world reaction organized the defeat of the Spanish people. It

wrested the sword of victory from this people who defended with their lives not only the independence of their own country, but also the independence of other nations. Having struck down the Spanish people, who were holding the forces of the fascist aggressors in leash, the carrion circle of reaction has added fuel to the flames of the second imperialist war. It is converting Spain into an outpost of the robber plans of German and Italian fascism. It would surrender the peoples of Europe to be slaughtered, raped and pillaged by fascism.

In the Far East the Japanese militarists are striving in vain to enslave the four hundred millions of Chinese people. The Chinese people are fighting like lions against the Japanese invaders. They are harassing the enemy behind his own lines. They are putting a cordon of fire around the towns seized by the Japanese. They are exhausting the enemy by a protracted war. The courageous and self-sacrificing struggle of the Chinese people serves to revolutionize the working people of Japan and shatters the morale of the Japanese Army. The Japanese invaders have failed in their attempts to pull off a lightning war, they are powerless in their efforts to conclude the "peace" they desire. In desperation they are driving headlong against Great Britain and France, drawing ever nearer to the colonial possessions of these powers.

* * *

Fascism rages through Europe like a mad beast. It has swallowed Austria and Czechoslovakia, occupied Memel, annexed Ethiopia. It is throwing its noose around Poland. It is making a drive for the Balkans, threatening Rumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. It is stealthily creeping upon Switzerland, Holland and Belgium. It demands a redivision of colonies and is stretching out to Latin America. It has cast off all restraint and has become emboldened as a result of the favorable "situation" created by the connivance of the reactionary bourgeoisie of other countries. It is bringing pressure

to bear upon the small nations, bullying them and staking on the treachery of the reactionary elements in the major capitalist countries. It is working with feverish haste, plunging headlong into adventures, for it fears the growing resistance of the peoples. It is letting loose the mercenary gang of Trotskyite spies and provocateurs who, acting on the instructions of the fascist espionage services, seek to undermine the labor organizations from within, to disarm them in face of the advancing enemy and betray them completely to fascism.

The British and French reactionaries are now paying the price for their policy of instigating war against the U.S.S.R. Was it not they who accommodatingly threw open the doors of Austria and Czechoslovakia to fascism, in order to direct its drive to the East? Was it not they who allowed fascism to seize the Spanish ore, the Austrian and Czechoslovakian gold reserves, the Skoda Works? Who offered Rumanian oil and Hungarian wheat so as to strengthen the fascist aggressors for war against the land of Soviets? Was it not they who freed the hands of the fascist criminals, thereby facilitating the latter's seizure of Spain?

But they have called forth spirits that have turned against them. They have armed the fascist robbers against themselves. By their policy they have exposed their own peoples to the blows of the fascist powers. The masses are realizing with increasing clarity that Munich, far from saving peace, has served to accelerate and facilitate further fascist aggression. The indignation of the masses against the policy of Munich, against those who have involved the nations in war under the hypocritical flag of saving peace, is becoming ever greater. The voice of the people demanding the removal from power of the politicians who bear the responsibility for the Munich plot, is swelling louder and louder. The peoples have no faith in the reassurances of the fascist warmongers, nor in the declarations of their accomplices. It is not words, but deeds, that the people need. They demand a deter-

minded stand against the fascist aggressors.

* * *

Fellow workers, we Communists have always laid bare the truth to you, no matter how bitter it was. The Communists showed you the true path of struggle against fascism and war. Did they not warn you that the policy pursued by the leaders of the Second International leads not to socialism, but to fascism, to war? Did they not tell you, at a time when fascism was only making its way to power in Germany, that the Social-Democratic policy of endless concessions to the bourgeoisie, the policy of splitting the ranks of the working class, the policy of slandering the Communists only paves the way for the defeat of the working people? Was it not the Communists who proposed to the Second and Trade Union Internationals to establish a united workers' front at a time when it was still easy to inflict a deadly blow against fascism? Was it not the Communists who insisted upon the urgency of uniting all forces of the working class in order to avert war? Was it not the Communists who exposed the Munich agreement as a plot against peace and the security of nations?

Who has profited from the split in the ranks of the working class? The fascist aggressors. The reactionary bourgeoisie fear the unity of the working class more than hell-fire itself, for they know only too well that by their joint action the millions of workers could grip fascism in an iron vice, disrupt its predatory wars and accelerate the downfall of the fascist regime.

Proletarians, do not believe those who assert that it is impossible to restrain the fascist war instigators. The fascist criminals are attacking other nations not because they are strong. They are unleashing war because they themselves are being strangled by the contradictions of their regime at home. They look to war as a salvation from the oncoming political and economic bankruptcy of the fascist dictatorship. They want to smother the outburst of indignation

among their own peoples by the clamor around their diplomatic and military "victories." But the more territory they seize, the more they undermine the ground on which they tread. Resorting to violence they demolish the established economic and political relations between states, thus intensifying the chaos and the break-up of the entire capitalist system. The more fascism enslaves other nations, the more menacing is the rear it creates for itself and for its armies. Under the surface of fascist dictatorship develop hidden revolutionary processes of unprecedented force.

But fascism will not collapse unless it is overthrown by the working people. Upon their militant determination, their courage, their readiness to make sacrifices depends the historical moment of the downfall of fascism and the overthrow of capitalism.

Never will the fascist hangmen crush the Czechoslovakian people, who are mustering their forces to rise against their conquerors. Never will the peoples be reconciled to the fascist bondage imposed upon them by force of arms. Fascism's first serious encounter with a strong military adversary will shatter to pieces the rotten system of fascist "alliances" and "protectorates." The seeds of national revolutionary wars are maturing behind the lines of the fascist robbers, the idea of taking the citadel of capitalism by revolutionary storm is maturing in the minds of the oppressed masses.

Never shall that miscreant Franco subjugate the proud and peace-loving Spanish people, who have acquired the great experience of a national war against foreign invaders. This people ousted Napoleon. They overthrew the monarchy. They smashed the fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. They will sweep away the power of this hated Italian satrap. The peoples' duel with fascism is not over. The masses of working people of Spain know that their struggle is an integral part of the growing movement of the anti-fascist forces of the entire world. The war which the fascist rulers are unleashing will be the

grave also of Spanish fascism. Spain with its blood-soaked soil will once again become an anti-fascist bastion.

* * *

Proletarians, we are a tower of strength, for we are millions. Upon us depends the work of factories and mills, of mines and blast furnaces; upon us depends the movement of trains and ships; upon us depends whether a handful of parasitic robbers will be kept in clover. The working class is the militant vanguard of the people, it expresses its interests of today and the ultimate interests of the whole of working humanity. But we workers must have faith in our own strength, we must have unity which multiplies our might, we need a united front on a national and world scale. We need it as bread, as air, as water. Only by realizing our might and bringing it into action with the help of the united front, will we strengthen all the forces of the peoples, the forces of the whole of working mankind. We need the united front because we wish to put an end to fascism, to predatory wars and capitalistic slavery once and for all.

Upon whom does the unity of action of the international working class now depend? Upon the Socialist and Trade Union Internationals. Should their leaders so desire, unity can become an accomplished fact tomorrow. The international working class will become a force exercising decisive influence on the march of events. By its unity of action it will launch a powerful people's front movement in all capitalist countries. This will mark a serious setback for fascism, the beginning of its downfall. Do you want this, Labor and Socialist workers? If you do then break the resistance of your leaders to united action of the working class and strengthen unity together with your class brothers, the Communists.

* * *

Expressing the will of the working class of all countries, the Communist International proposes to the Executives of the Labor and Socialist International

and the International Federation of Trade Unions immediately to commence negotiations regarding the establishment of a united front for struggle against the instigators and incendiaries of war.

The Communist International proposes to the Labor and Socialist International a platform for unity of action—defense of peace on the basis of a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, the organization of collective security, the struggle in each capitalist country against the treacherous policy of the reactionary bourgeoisie who seek agreement with the fascist aggressors to the detriment of the liberty and independence of their own nation.

The Communist International proposes that a conference of labor organizations of the whole world be convened to draw up a concrete plan of action, to map out the ways and means of struggle, to devise a single organ for the coordination of joint action.

Workers of all countries, on May Day you will demonstrate together with the proletarians of Germany, Japan and Italy for peace, against the instigators of war, for the overthrow of fascist dictatorship as a means of preserving peace.

You will demonstrate together with the British and French workers against the war incendiaries, for a determined repulse to the fascist aggressors, for the application of economic, political and military sanctions against them.

You will demand from the bourgeois governments of Great Britain, France and the U.S.A. aid to the republicans of Spain, the patriots of Czechoslovakia, Albania, Ethiopia, the democrats of Austria, in order to liberate them from foreign yoke.

You will demand arms and credits for China.

You will demonstrate for the united front of the working people of the whole world with the great land of socialism. You will demonstrate for the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., which responds to the aspirations of all peoples.

The Communist International calls upon you, proletarians and working

people, to rally to the great banner of struggle and victory, a banner dyed with the blood of the finest sons of the working class, the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin!

Long live May Day, the militant day of international proletarian solidarity!

Down with fascism and wars of plunder!

Down with capitalism!

Long live the Communist International!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

NATIONAL SECURITY

"American leadership and initiative in organizing the peace forces of the world have become an imperative necessity for the simple national security of the United States. This national security is threatened by unrestrained aggression anywhere. This deep truth, of far-reaching import for the future of the world, has today entered the consciousness of a large majority of the American people. We Communists can welcome this development with the deepest sincerity, for we propagated and fought for this view for years, when this meant to go against the stream, when it brought upon us all the vilification and slander of those who pasted the label 'warmonger' upon everyone who wanted to do something effective for peace, when 'isolation' was still a popular word and 'neutrality' was the dominant slogan."—Earl Browder, *The 1940 Elections*, p. 5.

The Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks and the International Working Class

THE discussion on international events at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union revealed with unmistakable distinctiveness the continuous decline of the capitalist world and the uninterrupted ascent of the socialist world.

While the delegates of the great Communist Party, which in two decades has wrought such incomparable achievements, were deciding the Third Five-Year Plan, the capitalist world was afflicted by yet another economic crisis. In contrast to the new substantial rise in production and mass prosperity in the Soviet Union, there is a new decline in production, a recent increase of pauperization and unemployment, and generally of economic concussions, in the capitalist world.

While the Bolsheviks are leading the country of socialism yet further along the road of a vast cultural revolution, one capitalist country after another is falling into barbarism. Millions of workers in the Soviet Union are already receiving the education of technicians or engineers; within a measurable period of time, the entire working class will reach this level, while, in the fascist countries, the workers are being degraded to the level of industrial serfs.

In the Soviet Union, general secondary school education is being introduced for the urban population, and the seven-year school system for the rural. In the fascist countries, the ignorance and lack of education of the youth have assumed such disastrous dimensions that even the capitalists and army chiefs can no longer conceal their apprehension. In the Soviet Union, several hundred thousand sons and daughters of the people each year enter the ranks of the intelligentsia,

while in the fascist countries the ranks of the intelligentsia grow ever thinner, and the brigands who rule attack the intellectuals with mockery and hatred.

While the Bolsheviks, with a firm hand, ensure the peace of the Soviet peoples, the second imperialist war has started in the capitalist world. This war is both frightful and extraordinary. It is a predatory war of the fascist states whose barely concealed aim is to drive from their positions of power Great Britain and France, to wreck their empires and, bit by bit, to seize the world as their booty. Nevertheless, the British and French governments act as though this war were not directed against them; they ogle the fascist aggressors and even aid them in executing their plans. This apparently inexplicable attitude of the so-called democratic governments may be explained by the fact that the fascist war for a redivision of the world is simultaneously a war against those peoples who would defend their liberties.

Undoubtedly, the reactionary British bourgeoisie did not care to see Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, with the consequent extension of her strategic basis in Africa. But still less did it wish to see a victory of the Ethiopian people in a national war for freedom, for such a victory by a "colored" people might stimulate a powerful national movement of the colonial peoples.

Undoubtedly, also, the reactionary French bourgeoisie has been considerably disquieted by the breakdown of the French system of alliances in Central Europe, by the fact that Hitler Germany has subjugated Czechoslovakia, and that the grasp of German and Italian fascism is now also reaching out for France at

the Pyrenees. But they consider their chief enemy to be the French People's Front, and, in order to smash this movement, they are prepared to demolish France. In all countries, the reactionary bourgeoisie has ceased to be a patriotic factor; it now unscrupulously sacrifices the interests of the nation in order to maintain its capitalist class domination.

THE SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE SOVIET UNION

In his historic report to the delegates of the Eighteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin characterized the international situation in the following words:

"The new economic crisis must lead, and is actually leading, to a further sharpening of the imperialist struggle. It is no longer a question of competition in the markets, of a commercial war, of dumping. These methods of struggle have long been recognized as inadequate. It is now a question of a new redivision of the world, of spheres of influence and colonies, by military action. . . .

"It is a distinguishing feature of the new imperialist war that it has not yet become universal, a world war. The war is being waged by aggressor states, which in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.

"Thus we are witnessing an open redivision of the world and spheres of influence at the expense of the non-aggressive states, without the least attempt at resistance, and even with a certain amount of connivance, on the part of the latter.

"Incredible, but true." *

Comrade Stalin then proceeded to show that "this one-sided and strange character" of the new imperialist war is partly to be attributed to the capitalist states' fear of revolution, but primarily

to the fact that most non-aggressive countries, and particularly Great Britain and France, have abandoned the policy of collective security. In this connection, Comrade Stalin disclosed the plan of the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France of egging Hitler Germany on to a war against the Soviet Union, of endeavoring to divert fascist aggression to the eastward.

"The hullabaloo raised by the British, French and American press over the Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of the press there shouted until they were hoarse that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had what is called the Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of some seven hundred thousand, and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex the Soviet Ukraine, which has a population of more than thirty million, to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine. It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds. . . .

"Even more characteristic is the fact that certain European and American politicians and newspaper writers, having lost patience waiting for 'the march on the Soviet Ukraine,' are themselves beginning to disclose what is really behind the policy of non-intervention. They are saying quite openly, putting it down in black on white, that the Germans have cruelly 'disappointed' them, for instead of marching farther east, against the Soviet Union, they have turned to the west, you see, and are demanding colonies. One might think that the districts of Czechoslovakia were yielded to Germany as the price of an undertaking to launch war on the Soviet Union, but that now the Germans are refusing to meet their bills and sending them to Hades."*

And in actual fact, the reactionary bourgeoisie in Great Britain and France, the Chamberlains and the Bonnets, have neglected nothing in order to encourage German fascism, by every kind of stimulus, to commence its ostentatiously pro-

* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 9, 11-12. International Publishers, New York.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

claimed "drive to the East." They have handed over to German fascism Austria and Czechoslovakia; in September, 1938, they saved it from a threatening breakdown; they have stressed the fact that they were not in the least interested in eastern or southeastern Europe; they have systematically fostered the provocative calumny that the Soviet Union has been economically and militarily weakened by the fact that she has rid herself of Trotskyite spies and wreckers.

Undoubtedly, there are in Hitler Germany certain influential adventurers whose thoughts and aspirations are bound up with the "crusade against the Soviet Union," but a considerable number of important individuals in the army, and also of fascist politicians, are aware that, in spite of the officially directed frenzy, German fascism is not strong enough to carry on such a war; therefore they prefer to attack wherever easy booty offers. Chamberlain's leading idea brings to our minds the words of the poet: "Were he not so awfully clever, one would be tempted to call him terribly stupid!"

To the reactionary bourgeoisie, it may appear to be awfully clever to egg on aggressive German fascism against the land of socialism, in order to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into a gigantic conflict, so as to appear, finally, as the "mediator" and dictate a peace in the interests of British imperialism. Yet one cannot help but call this plan terribly stupid. Every class which is condemned by history to destruction reaches a point when its cunning is converted into stupidity, when, by means of the most subtle maneuvering, it finds that it has steered itself into precisely that position which it was expending its utmost ingenuity in avoiding.

The British and French reactionary bourgeoisie desire to make use of the fascist menace against the working class and the People's Front movement, and to direct its aggression against the U.S.S.R. Since the Munich agreement, this bourgeoisie can point to a number of apparent successes. With its active support, the mercenaries of German and

Italian fascism have overthrown the Spanish republic and proceeded to the brutal slaughter of the Spanish fighters for freedom. With its help, German fascism has subjugated the freedom-loving Czechs and established its blood-stained despotism in Central Europe. Through its undermining activities, the People's Front in France was broken and France reduced to the position of a second-class power. Through its agents in the leadership of the Second International, the working class movement has been weakened and workers' unity obstructed.

Nevertheless, in spite of these apparent victories, the reactionary bourgeoisie is by no means happy, and the more acute members of their own class are realizing, with increasing dismay, that the policy they have been following is conjuring up, more and more rapidly, a new world war, and that more than anything else it intensifies every contradiction within capitalism.

The Munich agreement has enormously enhanced the aggressiveness of the fascist states. Driven on by their increasingly grave economic situation and by the suffocating burden of their own armaments, striding with the clashing of arms across one frontier after the other, fleeing from the internal decay in their own lands, and perceiving no other way out than a desperate struggle for world mastery, German and Italian fascism is plunging into ever heavier complications.

The main attack of the fascist aggressive powers is directed against the so-called democratic states. Deterred by the political and moral unity of the Soviet people, by the determined preparedness for defense and the inexhaustible economic and military reserves of the Soviet Union, the fascist aggressors are turning mainly toward those states which, by means of repeated surrender, have fostered the opinion that they will capitulate in every case.

In the East the fascist aggressors realize there is a frontier which presents an impassable barrier to them. This is the frontier of the Soviet Union. But in the West, the frontier opposing them is of a most indefinite character. The Brit-

ish and French reactionary bourgeoisie have during recent years so frequently been guilty of treachery that the fascist aggressors have acquired the habit of expecting it to continue to betray.

To these considerations we may add certain further circumstances which serve to accelerate the tempo of fascist aggression. They are the following: So far, Italian fascism has incurred heavy expenses by its conquests, without having secured any real advantages. Even today, Ethiopia is only half conquered, and is still costing heavily in money and human lives, without bringing in any dividends.

Spain is a heap of ruins. Both Italian and German fascism are incapable of restoring this devastated country. Hatred for the foreign conquerors is inextinguishable; this feeling will also affect Franco's Spanish followers, and thus bring about a new unity of the Spanish people. Finally, if it be allowed time, British capital can bring Spain step by step under the influence of Great Britain. The fascist adventurers cannot retain Spain—unless they pursue the path of fresh aggression. As a strategic base for further action, Spain is of use to them; but if they try to rest satisfied with this conquest, they must lose it.

But it is not only the Italian, but also the German conquests whose value is extremely dubious. True, Austria and, even more, Czechoslovakia, have brought considerable profit to the German wolves of finance; nevertheless, these conquests have not reduced economic difficulties nor retarded the subterranean gnawing of the crisis. Instead of alleviating the living conditions of the German people they have worsened them. And they have engendered new internal dangers to the fascist regime. The hatred of the oppressed Austrians, Czechs and Slovaks for the brutal foreign ruler will become a revolutionary factor of historical significance. The oppressed nations can perceive the possibility of throwing off the foreign yoke by joint action, and then uniting in a league of peoples against German imperialism.

The conquerors have neither the time nor the strength to "digest" their con-

quests; with madly-gathering speed, they strive towards new conquests, in order to grab the necessary raw materials and labor-serfs for their armaments industry.

But these "protectorates" of German fascism are inhabited by peoples who can look back upon a thousand years of history, who possess their own culture and traditions of national independence. Such peoples do not adapt themselves to the status of colonial peoples. They will make use of every opportunity of winning back their freedom and independence. They will now become imbued with revolutionary thought and emotion as never before. The revolution against the domination of German fascism will be incomparably more consistent and powerful than was that against the former Habsburg monarchy.

The British and French reactionary bourgeoisies declared that they desired to preserve peace, but at the same time they support those who are making towards a world war—the fascist aggressors. In gratitude for this assistance, those same fascist aggressors now demand the mastery of the world, that France and Great Britain concede them, not only still more countries, but also their own possessions. Every fresh concession sharpens their appetite; and Great Britain and France can already foresee the day when they will be compelled either to mutilate themselves beyond all recognition or to oppose with arms the fascist claims.

The curbing of the fascist aggressors—which, before Munich, could have been achieved without a war—they will eventually be able to effect only by means of a frightful war, at the conclusion of which the peoples will call all those to account who brought about the slaughter and sought not to prevent it. As Comrade Manuilsky stated, in the course of his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., on the activity of the E.C.C.I.:

"But the British reactionary bourgeoisie are, by their predatory plans, digging their own graves. By their secret support of Japanese aggression in China, they are preparing the way for the exclusion of Britain from the Far East; by their concessions to Italian fascism they

are paving the way for the loss of British influence in the Mediterranean; by providing loans to the fascist aggressors they are increasing their military might and the chances of their own defeat.

"By strengthening German fascism they are preparing the ground for the partition of their own Empire; by their plans for an onslaught on the Soviet Union, they are preparing the collapse, not only of fascism, but of the entire capitalist system."

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The reactionary British and French bourgeoisies have endeavored to isolate the Soviet Union and to divert fascist aggression towards it. Through the development of events, however, the tables have been turned. Fascist aggression is chiefly directed against Great Britain and France, and not against the powerful Soviet Union which is equal to any attack.

In spite of the campaign of reactionaries in all countries against the Soviet Union, those peoples who are menaced by fascism and alien domination—as well as those peoples who have already been subjected to it—are looking ever more hopefully and confidently towards the country where socialism is triumphant. The so-called democratic governments of Great Britain and France have betrayed treaties and have infamously delivered up free civilized peoples. Only the Soviet Union has supported the menaced peoples, has, at each critical period, asserted, up to the last, its readiness to abide by its treaty obligations. Those peoples who now feel only bitter contempt for the "democratic" governments of Great Britain and France have a profound and justified confidence in the Soviet Union. *Now, less than ever before, is it possible to isolate the Soviet Union from the peoples.*

But there is yet more to come. Those very governments, which sought to divert the aggressiveness of the fascists towards the Soviet Union, are now endeavoring to enlist the support of that country. And suddenly they have become aware of the fact that the Soviet Union, which was

ready to defend Czechoslovakia, is by no means necessarily willing to spring into the breach for the sake of Great Britain and France; that it is not the Soviet Union which has need of pacts of assistance, and that she can throw her decisive weight into the scales—not in accordance with the wishes of others, but when and how she herself chooses—in the interests of the peoples of the world and of a peace which shall be more soundly based and secure than that of Versailles. In contrast to the foreign policy pursued in Great Britain and France, that of the Soviet Union is unequivocal and undeviating. No distortions can obscure the significance of the following words of Comrade Stalin:

"The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit:

"1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

"2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet state.

"3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

"4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

"Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." *

This foreign policy does not only express the interests of the Soviet people but also those of the peoples of all the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

capitalist countries. This, of course, is no fortuitous coincidence, but arises out of the very nature of socialism. In all capitalist countries, it is only the exploiters who long for conquests in order to extend their exploitation to foreign peoples. In the Soviet Union, there are no capitalist exploiters.

In the foreign policies of all capitalist countries there exist harsh class antagonisms—take, for example, the attitude of the workers and of the reactionary bourgeoisie, respectively, towards the Spanish republic; and also contradictory interests, as, for example, the fact that the most reactionary sections of the British and French bourgeoisies favor open support for Hitler Germany, while other sections of the bourgeoisie are opposed to any further concessions. But such antagonisms and contradictions cannot exist in the Soviet Union.

In all capitalist countries, then, foreign policy is dependent upon the conflicting desires and fears of the ruling class, which, on the one hand, carries on a fierce competitive struggle with the capitalists of other lands, while, on the other, it recognizes the common interests of capitalism as a whole, as opposed to the people's struggle for freedom. The Soviet people, which directs its destinies with its own hands, knows perfectly well that it can never find real allies in the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, but only among the masses of the people. In its own original interests, therefore, the Soviet people stands on the side of the peoples who are fighting for their own freedom; in other words, *its own original interests are identical with the interests of the masses of the people of the capitalist world.*

The victories of the Soviet people, therefore, are likewise victories of the peoples of the capitalist world.

THE FORCES OF VICTORIOUS SOCIALISM

The Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union bore witness to world-historical victories of the Soviet people. In all the speeches of those who made the reports and of delegates there was reflected that tranquil

sense of power, that well-founded self-assurance, of the Soviet people. There were no harsh words, clamorous exaggeration, thunderous declamation, such as characterize so many party congresses in other countries. Nor were there that conflict, internal strife, conflicting opinions, which are characteristic of the politically confused parties of the Second International, which are unsettled by the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the troubled petty bourgeoisie. It was the clear, simple and convincing language of facts that was spoken at this Congress. They looked back upon the road traversed during the last five years and took note that this road had led uninterruptedly upward, that each milestone represented a victory for socialism. They looked upon what had been accomplished and saw that it was correct and good, that it meant prosperity and elevation for the people; and, at the same time, they saw how much is still to be accomplished, what must be improved and perfected.

They looked into the future, and saw before them the development of socialism into communism, saw before them the genuine possibility of crowning this great construction with a mighty cupola, of realizing in actual fact that of which the greatest thinkers and creators have dreamed: a world in which man shall no longer be subjected to the compulsion of want, but in which he shall fashion his life in freedom and in plenty, according to his own desire and need—the rich and flowering world of communism. Not in images or allegories, but with the gripping sureness of master-builders did these delegates of the Soviet people speak of this new world which once existed only as a vision which many decried as being too fantastic.

We have achieved much, said the Soviet people through the voices of their delegates. For a moment we will pause and gaze around us at the land, and over beyond the frontiers of our land. We will compare our country with the capitalist countries, soberly and objectively. Twenty years ago Russia was incredibly poor and backward, a country of the wooden

plow, of illiteracy, of despondent drifting. Fifteen years ago, our country was exhausted and drained by war and civil war, by the heroic war of defense against the whole capitalist world which sent its armies against us. Our early freedom walked barefoot. We had too little bread—our agriculture was virtually of the Middle Ages. We had no machines, no tools. Our industry was a sad ruin. We had less than the minimum of skilled workers; people had become unaccustomed to work, and were untrained and undernourished. The capitalist world jeered at us when we began our race to overtake and outstrip the industry of the capitalist countries, as Lenin's slogan counseled.

But today?

Today, as Comrade Stalin stated, the industry of the Soviet Union:

"... has grown more than ninefold as compared with pre-war, whereas the industry of the principal capitalist countries continues to mark time round about the pre-war level, exceeding the latter by only 20 or 30 per cent.

"This means that as regards rate of growth our socialist industry holds first place in the world.

"Thus we find that as regards technique of production and rate of growth of our industry, we have already overtaken and outstripped the principal capitalist countries." *

There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. Production rises constantly, and with it rise wages while prices are falling. Millions of highly skilled workers, technicians and engineers, have been trained. Agriculture has been released from the shackles of obsolete small-scale farming, has been equipped with the most modern agricultural machinery and assures permanent prosperity to the collective farmers and the entire Soviet people. Once, Russia was the country of periodically recurrent famines, but now the Soviet power has finally expelled hunger from its lands—this is also an enemy who will find that the Soviet frontiers are impassable.

While in declining capitalism the productivity of labor is gradually decreasing, in the Soviet Union we are experiencing an unexampled rise in the productivity of labor. The initiative and creative energy of the working class have found their expression in the Stakhanov movement. The workers—who produce, not for capitalist exploiters, but for themselves and for the whole people—are, in their own interests, striving to attain ever more highly productive methods. They know that every increase in the productivity of labor directly benefits themselves and the entire Soviet people, that it implies a higher standard of wages and cheaper goods.

In the capitalist countries the proletarian fears every technical improvement, every measure of rationalization, because he knows from experience that this merely intensifies exploitation. But the worker in a socialist society develops and utilizes his inventive capacities, his talent for organization and his creative powers, in order to enhance the productivity of labor and thereby raise his own standard of living. The Stakhanov movement, therefore, cannot be transplanted to any capitalist country for it is peculiar to socialism and to socialism alone.

Faced by the facts of the uninterrupted rise of labor in the Soviet Union, of the early fulfilment of the mighty Second Five-Year Plan and of the magnificent perspectives of the Third Five-Year Plan, even the capitalist world no longer ventures to deny the massive foundations and brilliant triumphs of socialist economy. The contest between socialism and capitalism has entered upon its final phase. In tranquil tones, the Soviet people, through their delegates at the Congress, challenged the capitalist world to this contest. With quiet, assured words, Comrade Stalin and Comrade Molotov showed to what extent socialist industry, even today, has overtaken and outstripped the industry of the most advanced capitalist countries, and to what extent it still remains behind. "In what respect are we lagging?" asked Comrade

* *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

Stalin, and proceeded to answer this question, as follows:

"We are still lagging economically, that is, as regards the volume of our industrial output per head of population. . . .

"We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of communism to its second phase."*

And, as Comrade Molotov said in his report on the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan:

"The time has come to tackle, in a practical manner, the solution of the fundamental economic task of the U.S.S.R.: to overtake and surpass economically as well the more developed capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America, to solve this task once and for all in the near future. Having solved this task, we shall make the U.S.S.R. the most advanced country in the world in all respects, not only politically, which we have long since achieved; not only in the level of technique of production, which we have also achieved. We shall thus place the U.S.S.R. first in the world economically as well. Then, and only then, will the significance of the new epoch in the development of the U.S.S.R. be truly revealed, the epoch of the transition of the socialist society to a communist society. . . .

"At present our industry has amassed tremendous technique and there is opportunity for its further rapid development. We now have numerous cadres who have mastered technique and are ready for new, still more important battles for the economic might of the U.S.S.R. Besides this, in our country a socialist society has been completely formed, a society which does not want to and will

not reconcile itself to economic lagging behind the capitalist countries, even though this is a result of the age-old historical backwardness of our country. That is why the Party of Bolsheviks must put this task on the order of the day. . . .

"The question of extending the economic contest between the U.S.S.R. and the leading capitalist countries has been raised. The question has been transferred to the international arena. All the more intense must be our striving to solve this new task with honor.

"As Comrade Stalin has said in his report, time is required for the solution of this task, at least from ten to fifteen years, another two or three five-year plan periods. Fulfillment of the Third Five-Year Plan should do much to predetermine the solution of this task."

Thus speak men who know what they want, who estimate, with quiet certainty, the power of their Party and of their people, capable of fulfilling their great tasks under all circumstances.

The Soviet Union has abolished the exploitation of man by man. It has established the equality of rights of all Soviet citizens in all domains. It has transformed into fact those new human rights: the right to work, the right to education and the right to leisure. It has opened up for all children of the people unlimited opportunity for advancement. Through the establishment of socialist democracy, it has ensured the rule of the people. It has united the people politically and morally, establishing the fraternal community of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and the brotherhood of the Soviet peoples. In the sphere of productive technique and of the rate of industrial development it has surpassed the principal capitalist countries. It has become the strongest and most secure country in the world. What it still needs to accomplish is to supply all Soviet citizens with an abundance of consumer and cultural goods. The Eighteenth Congress of the Bolsheviks was able to give the Soviet people the prospect of this.

THE SOCIALIST STATE AND THE RED ARMY

In order to make sure of the develop-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

ments mentioned above, the Soviet people—faced by a hostile capitalist world and the increasing aggressiveness of the fascist powers—needs a powerful state and a capacity for defense that is a match for any enemy. It is obvious that the socialist state cannot die out as long as the country is surrounded by capitalist powers and is exposed to the danger of military attack. As Comrade Stalin so plainly said:

"We are going ahead, towards communism. Will our state remain in the period of communism also?

"Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our state will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

"No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a socialist encirclement takes its place." *

The strength of the socialist state rests upon the indestructible moral and political unity of the Soviet people, upon the highly developed socialist industry and agriculture, which gets from the soil of the Soviet Union inexhaustible wealth; it rests upon its own, peerless workers' and peasants' Red Army. This strength serves, not only the interests of the Soviet people, but also those of all other peoples, whose liberty and peace are threatened by the fascist aggressors.

It was with profound satisfaction that, not only Soviet citizens, but also the people in the capitalist countries, learned from the speech of Comrade Voroshilov, People's Commissar, what vast strength is embodied in the Red Army. Of late, even German military writers have been unable to refrain from referring to the strength of the Red Army, from pensively reflecting on its striking power and its immeasurable reserves in men and material. British politicians and writers have also stressed the incomparable military strength of the Soviet Union

and thus have caused world opinion to reflect upon the fact that the socialist state is a military power of the first rank.

It appears, from Comrade Voroshilov's report, that the firing capacity of an infantry division of the Red Army considerably surpasses that of a German or French division. Cavalry has increased by 52 per cent in the last five years. The number of tanks has grown almost three-fold; armored cars, seven and a half times; the number of troops in the tank and armored car divisions has increased two and a half times. If we assume that the fire power per minute of all tanks equalled 100 in 1934, it has now grown to 334. Light artillery has increased by 34 per cent, medium by 26 per cent, heavy artillery by 85 per cent, and anti-aircraft guns by 169 per cent.

Similarly, the firing range of all types of artillery has considerably increased. For example, the range of heavy artillery increased from 50 to 75 per cent, according to type of gun. There has also been an important increase in the rapidity of fire; in anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns, for example, it has more than doubled.

The effectives of the military air force have grown by 138 per cent since 1934, and the number of warplanes by 130 per cent as a whole. The horsepower of airplane engines in the air fleet has increased by 7,900,000 since 1934, i.e., by 213 per cent. The speed of pursuit planes increased by 56.5 per cent, their ceiling by 21.5 per cent; the speed of small radius bombers increased by 88 per cent, their ceiling by 83 per cent and their range by 50 per cent. Large radius bombers' speed increased by 70 per cent, their ceiling by 77 per cent and range by 61 per cent. The speed of scouting and light attack planes has grown by 67 per cent, their ceiling by 23 per cent, and range by 45 per cent.

The proportion of heavy bombers within the entire air fleet has grown from 10.6 per cent to 20.6 per cent; that of pursuit planes from 12.3 per cent to 30 per cent, while the proportion of light bombing, attack and scouting aircraft

* *Ibid.*, p. 57.

has decreased from 50.2 to 26 per cent of the whole. This means, of course, that the striking force of the air arm has considerably increased. The following example by Comrade Voroshilov is particularly striking:

"Whereas in 1934 our entire air fleet could lift 2,000 tons of air bombs in one flight, at present it can already carry 208 per cent more; in other words, the simultaneous bombing volley has increased three times. This mass of destructive metal, capable of being carried great distances, can become not a bad Soviet straitjacket for the aggressors, possessed by frenzied dreams, if, in some fit of insanity, they attack Soviet territory. . . .

"Not infrequently one can now find in our military airdromes not only pursuit planes but also bombers with a speed far in excess of 500 kilometers per hour, and a ceiling exceeding 14,000-15,000 meters."

Since 1934, the motorization of the Red Army has increased by 260 per cent. In 1934, total engine power averaged 7.74 horsepower per Red Army man; now it is 13 horsepower per man—and this with an army which has more than doubled in number. While the German army, for instance, lacks trained commanding officers, the personnel of the command in the Soviet Union forces has been substantially increased, since 1934, to the following extent: infantry 118 per cent; cavalry, 66 per cent; tank and armored cars, 154 per cent; artillery, 124.5 per cent; aviators, 184 per cent; engineers attached to aviation, 801 per cent.

The Red Army possesses fourteen military academies and six special military faculties at the civil universities, giving tuition to more than 20,000 higher commanders, higher military officials, political workers, army engineers and doctors, and so on. Then there are the military schools, in the army units themselves, as well as the six and twelve months' courses for junior commanders, from which several hundred thousand men are graduated annually. Thus, the necessary supply of commanders for the Red Army is secured under any circum-

stances, while in the armies of other countries the problem of the supply of officers in war-time is causing acute disquiet.

Impressive as these figures are, they enable us only partially to gauge the strength of the Red Army. The decisive power of the Red Army lies in its solidarity, such as exists in no other army, in its Marxist-Leninist firmness, its profound love for its socialist fatherland, its consciousness that it is fighting for its own cause, for the cause of the people and of all humanity. On Lake Khasan, on the Far Eastern frontier, the Japanese militarists have come to realize the striking power of the Red Army. They have seen how trained soldiers scatter in panic-stricken flight under the blows of the Red Army. They know with what crushing force the Soviet Union will answer any violation of its frontiers.

EDUCATION FOR THE HUMANITIES

The Red Army enjoys incomparable popularity, not only in the Soviet Union, but among the peoples of the capitalist countries. Upon their arms is reflected the splendor of the socialist world, the shining strength of a world in which all capacities, all cultural opportunities of mankind, are rapidly developing. Their arms protect peace, freedom and the humanities. The humanities which mean, according to the words of that great German humanist, Johann Gottfried von Herder:

"The store and yield of all human effort, the art of our species, as it were. Education in this is a task which must be ceaselessly maintained; otherwise we—of both higher and lower grades—shall sink back into raw animalism, brutality."

While the subjects of fascism are indeed rapidly sinking into raw animalism, brutality, in the country of socialism the store and yield of all human effort is being cherished and multiplied, the education in the humanities is being continued. Surely, cultured people in the capitalist countries could not have heard without profound emotion the words of Comrade Molotov:

"The Third Five-Year Plan sets forth a big program of cultural development. The task that has been set is to achieve universal secondary education in the towns and to complete the introduction of universal seven-year education in the villages and in all the national republics. The number of pupils in elementary and secondary schools in towns and industrial settlements should increase from 8,600,000 to 12,400,000 and in rural areas from 20,800,000 to 27,700,000. In this way, more than 40,000,000 pupils will be studying in our elementary and secondary schools by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan period, as against 8,000,000 pupils in the pre-revolutionary Russia. As for the number of pupils studying in the eighth to tenth classes in the secondary schools, it already exceeds that of the old times twelvefold, while by 1942 it will be 34 times more than before the Revolution. There is already hardly a worker's family at present whose children have not had a secondary education. And the number of families of workers and other employees, as well as of peasants, in which the children are receiving a higher education, is growing from year to year. . . .

"The number of students in the universities and technical colleges will reach 650,000 during the Third Five-Year Plan period. . . .

"The training of skilled cadres of workers in the basic trades . . . is also continuing to grow. This training should, during the Third Five-Year Plan period, provide more than 8,000,000 skilled workers in the various trades.

"The number of trained people with a secondary education will have increased by 90 per cent towards the end of the five-year period, and the number of those with a completed higher education will increase from 750,000 to 1,290,000, by 72 per cent. . . .

"Our intelligentsia now represents a substantial force of 9,600,000 persons. If we were to take into account the fact that many skilled workers in our enterprises already have a secondary education, we would have to raise this figure considerably. . . . Together with the members of their families, our intelligentsia now constitutes from 13 to 14 per cent of the population of the U.S.S.R. . . .

"We should consider the Third Five-Year Plan in the sphere of cultural development in the light of these facts. This plan has one fundamental task: a great stride forward in the historic cause of raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to that of engineers and technical workers.

"Naturally, one or two five-year plans are not sufficient for the accomplishment of this gigantic task, the task of eliminating the distinction between mental and manual labor. The full solution of this task will require several decades, but we are advancing successfully along this road. The Third Five-Year Plan will bring us one step nearer the realization of this great task."

And in fact, never before in the history of mankind was humanist education undertaken in such fundamental, systematic and comprehensive a manner as in the land of victorious socialism. Here, for the first time, man stands in the center of things; for the first time, a state takes solicitude for humanity as its main task; here, for the first time, the material and cultural betterment of all citizens is the content and motive of state policy.

August Strindberg, the Swedish dramatist and novelist, made the *motif* of one of his plays the phrase: "A pity to be human." Such words—profoundly justified in a decaying capitalism—would appear senseless to any Soviet citizen. Instead, they may say, in the Soviet Union: "It is a joy to live! It is fine to be a human being!" Thus, in every sphere, the Soviet Union can challenge the capitalist world to a contest, the historical significance of which was expressed by Comrade Molotov in the following words:

"Capitalism has accumulated not a few material and cultural values, but it can no longer make use of them even in its own interests. It has already, in many respects, begun to strangle progress, science, art and culture. . . .

"Communism grows out of what capitalism has created, out of its numerous fine achievements in the sphere of economy, material conditions of life and culture. Communism remolds all these values and achievements in its own way, not

in the interests of the 'elite' of society, but in the interests of a whole people, all of mankind. We must spare no efforts to study this cultural heritage. It is necessary to know it thoroughly and profoundly. It is necessary to make use of everything that capitalism and the past history of mankind have given, and to build from the bricks made by the labor of man over a period of many centuries, a new edifice, an edifice fit for the people to live in, spacious, full of light and sun."

In this contest between capitalism and socialism the peoples of all lands will not merely be the judges but they will also, in fast-growing numbers, take to heart the example of the Bolsheviks, and will gather new fighting strength from the socialist achievement of the Soviet Union.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet people owes its victories to the great Party of the Bolsheviks, forged by Lenin and Stalin. In its complete unity of theory and practice, of leadership and membership, of Party democracy and iron discipline, this Party represents something which has never before existed in history. Unaltered in its essence, it has continually adapted itself in accordance with the historical situation and the particular tasks needing to be solved at any given period. From illegality to proletarian revolution, from war and civil war to the construction of socialism, from the First Five-Year Plan to the Third, it has ever again through hard struggle renewed itself, established itself more solidly, developed further towards greater unity. It has unmercifully rid itself of elements infected by the corruption of the capitalist world; it has ruthlessly destroyed the enemies who have crept into its ranks. Its decisive treatment of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, of this band of degenerate adventurers, murderers, spies and wreckers, has afforded it the maximum of strength in order to fulfill its ever greater tasks. In his report on the changes in Party rules, Comrade Zhdanov described how the great Party of Lenin and Stalin was preparing for the fulfilment of these tasks, as follows:

"In order to solve the historic problems of building up socialism and of protection of the gains of victorious socialism from the surrounding capitalist world and its agents within the Soviet Union, it was necessary for the Party to effect a radical readjustment of its inner Party political and organizational work. Having purged itself of the enemy scum and thereby having strengthened the unity and firmness of its ranks, having readjusted its inner Party political and organizational work, the Party consolidated immeasurably its strength and might, its ideological and organizational equipment.

"The Party has become stronger than ever before! This we owe to Comrade Stalin's leadership!

"The source of our Party's strength, the source of its historic victories, lies in the fact that it is a Party of a new type, of the Lenin-Stalin type, irreconcilable towards opportunists, towards all enemies of the working class.

"Our Party is the Party of social revolution, the Party that has grown up on the firm foundation of the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Its program and tactics and its organizational principles rest on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. Its ranks are made up of the best representatives of the working class, of its most devoted, most politically conscious, revolutionary, courageous and disciplined sons. That is why the Bolsheviks have become the militant general staff of the working class, its revolutionary vanguard, a Party 'bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, experienced enough to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and flexible enough to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal.' (Stalin)."

The changes in the Party rules, which the Congress adopted, represented the altered social relationship in the Soviet Union and the historical tasks of the gradual transition to communism. During the years of socialist construction all exploiting elements have been abolished. The class differences between Soviet citizens are beginning to disappear. The economic and political distinctions between workers, peasants and the intelli-

gentsia are vanishing. On these grounds, admission of workers, peasants and intelligentsia to membership of the Party must in the future also express these changed conditions. The maintenance of different categories for admission, with harder conditions for peasants, office employees and the intelligentsia, ceases, and personal characteristics will now be taken more into consideration.

In order to ensure the fullest development of internal Party democracy, and of the activity and initiative of all Party members, the new rules will not only lay down the duties of members but also their rights. Although they have been looked upon as self-evident, the following rights of Party members are henceforth to be recorded in the rules: The right to criticize any Party official at Party meetings; the right of all Party members to elect and be elected to Party organs; the right of all Party members to demand their personal participation in all cases where decisions are adopted with regard to their activities or behavior; the right of all Party members to address to every Party authority, right up to the Central Committee, any question or declaration. The establishment of these rights in the rules will form a barrier to any manifestations of bureaucracy and will stimulate all Party members to yet higher activity and initiative.

This activity and initiative were well expressed in the fact that nearly a million Communists took the floor in the discussions that preceded the Party Congress, and innumerable proposals and amendments to the new rules were introduced. And the Party Congress itself was a magnificent demonstration of internal Party democracy, of the activity, initiative, assurance and consciousness of power of the membership. This Congress was a high water mark even in the proud history of the Bolsheviks. Never before were there such unity, such genuine and unreserved agreement on all essential questions, such many-sided discussions, and such a clear and vivid sense of the love that permeated all delegates for their Party and its leadership. The bumptious phrases of the masked enemy—who can-

not overdo his exaggeration and who hides behind a smokescreen of his own lies—are silenced; marred by no false tones, there sounded the simple, heartfelt and candid speech of the great Soviet people, its strong and genuine attachment to its socialist homeland, the Bolshevik Party, and its leader, Stalin.

STRENGTHENING OF THE WORLD'S WORKING CLASS THROUGH THE SOVIET UNION

In the struggle of the international working class against fascist barbarity, for democracy and socialism; in the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence, the Soviet Union represents powerful material support—but, even more important than this material support, is the reinforcement of the moral strength of the workers and of all anti-fascists through the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union.

In his address to the delegates of the Eighteenth Congress, Comrade Stalin referred to this decisive factor, as follows:

"The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill, in the working class, faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it has not itself to thank, but the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our Party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case."*

* *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The international working class has experienced severe defeats of late. The fascist aggressors have crushed Spain and Czechoslovakia. Their accomplices in Great Britain, France and other countries are endeavoring to take advantage of these events to induce in the workers a feeling of hopelessness, to introduce despair and disintegration in their ranks. The agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie in the leadership of the Second International are zealously occupied trying to persuade the workers that the working class, in alliance with the rural and petty-bourgeois population, is unable successfully to oppose fascism, and that it is preferable to surrender without a struggle. They are busy trying to turn the Socialist workers against their Communist class brothers, and in slandering the Communist International and the Soviet Union. They are diligently occupied in infecting their own supporters with a sense of weakness, in injecting into them the venom of disbelief in the cause of socialism.

The reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the working class movement desire at all costs to prevent the workers from becoming aware of a fact which it, the reactionary bourgeoisie, knows only too well, namely, what an invincible power the working class becomes when it unites, when it boldly places itself in the lead of the whole people in order to thrust back the fascist aggressors. The reactionary bourgeoisie knows this well, as we have said, and it acts accordingly.

When the Spanish working class rushed to oppose the fascist aggressors, and brought great masses of the people with it in its heroic struggle, the reactionary bourgeoisie—fearing the gigantic strength of the people under the leadership of the proletariat—afforded every possible assistance to the aggressors. At the same time, the agents of the reactionary bourgeoisie within the working class movement also went into action in order to obstruct and divert the powerful demand for unity which the masses were expressing, so as to prevent the international unity of the working class on behalf of the Spanish republic.

While German and Italian fascism was inundating Spain with troops and arms, while the British big bourgeoisie was financing Franco and the French government was keeping the French-Spanish frontier tightly closed, the reactionary leaders of the Second International did everything they could to prevent the unconditional and resolute employment of the entire strength of the proletariat on behalf of the Spanish People's Front. Attacked by two fascist great powers, betrayed by the so-called democratic governments, lacking the swift, determined support of the internationally united working class, the Spanish people, under the leadership of the Spanish working class, was still able to defend itself for two and a half years.

The strength of the working class was potentially greater than ever before. Had the British working class, during those two and a half years, mustered all democratic forces in order to sweep the Chamberlain government out of existence; had the French workers unitedly and vigorously fought the "non-intervention" policy; had all workers' parties and trade unions achieved international unity, bringing every possible aid to the Spanish republic—the workers of the world would today be registering a victory instead of a defeat.

This was also the position when the fascists, with the aid of the reactionary bourgeoisie, were preparing their attack upon Czechoslovakia. The international working class was then capable of preventing the Munich betrayal, of frustrating the policy of Chamberlain and Daladier, and thus dealing a blow at German fascism which might have resulted in its destruction. It would have been able to do this had it not believed the liars who talked of the superior strength of the fascist powers, if it had only had more confidence in its own fighting powers than in the voice of the reactionary bourgeoisie and its agents in the Second International. The definite cause of its defeat lay in the fact that the working class was too little conscious of its own strength, that it did not suf-

ficiently reject the poison of doubt and unbelief, of capitulation and betrayal.

The strengthening of the proletariat's sense of power, of its class-consciousness and confidence in victory—such is the great task today of the Communist Parties and of all revolutionary fighters in the working class movement. An important means of attaining this is *the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism*.

In the recently published *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, this theory is clearly set forth, so that every intelligent worker may grasp it, and is also definitely enriched. In his report to the delegates of the Eighteenth Congress Comrade Stalin contributed a further development in Marxist-Leninist theory. Upon the basis of the victory of socialism in a single country and its gradual development into communism, he developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state still further than Engels and Lenin. By means of this creative theoretical achievement something new has been contributed to the labor movement; and the fully developed Communist theory of the state, demolishing all obscurities, stands out as against the vague and pernicious "theories" of the Social-Democrats.

When the cadres of the Communist Parties really absorb the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, when they can spread everywhere, without schematicism and arrogance, the great teachings of communism; when they understand how to lead the way intellectually for the workers and anti-fascists, they will have contributed substantially towards liberating the workers from the demoralizing influence of doubt and lack of faith. As Comrade Stalin said in the course of his report:

"It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the

greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether."*

And this axiom applies not only to the Soviet Union but also to the entire working class movement. To inculcate the working class with political consciousness—this is one means by which doubt and disbelief may be overcome. The other powerful means is through the *radiation of victorious socialism from the Soviet Union*. This radiation, like the sun at midday, must and will destroy the bacilli of doubt and disbelief. Socialism has triumphed in one vast country; why then should it not triumph in other countries? In one great country the working class has proved that it can conquer—why then can it not prove the same in other lands? In one huge country the *superiority of socialism over capitalism* has been made palpably apparent; why should the peoples of other countries shut their eyes to this great historical fact? As Comrade Molotov stated:

"The triumph of our glorious Stalinist Five-Year Plans will find its way to the hearts of many millions of workers and toilers far beyond the boundaries of the U.S.S.R.; they will be fired with a desire to have their own Bolshevik Five-Year Plans, and not the shackling fascist four-year plans."

It is indeed true, as Comrade Stalin has said, that the success of the working class of the Soviet Union, its struggle and its victory, will serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory.

In the course of their hard struggle, the workers of all countries are realizing ever more clearly the immeasurable importance of the Soviet Union to the cause of the working class, to the future of the human race. Were there no Soviet Union, were there no great Party of the Bolsheviks, the outlook in the immediate future would be sinister indeed. It is the

* *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Soviet Union, however, in which is embodied the liberty and dignity of the human race. It is the great Bolshevik Party in which the unconquerable strength of the working class finds its clearest expression. To fight for the cause of the working class and for the future of humanity means to gather in a strong fighting unity around the Soviet Union, unreservedly to support its policy, and to render its great Party and its great leader, Stalin, that unlimited confidence which has been tested a hundred times

by knowledge and experience. To oppose the Soviet Union today means to oppose the victory of the working class, to oppose the salvation of the peoples of the world. To stand strongly and imperturbably on the side of the Soviet Union today means to contribute materially towards the victory of the working class and towards the salvation of the peoples.

The certainty of victory—such is the message to the working class of the world of the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party.

THE COOPERATION OF THE SOVIET UNION

"... our American newspapers, whose owners are almost unanimously opposed to a peace-front against the fascist aggressors, have used up paper and ink by the carload to obscure, hide and distort the Soviet foreign policy. They have called to their aid in this campaign all their Trotskyite and Lovestoneite agents, and the muddleheads like Norman Thomas, to shout at the top of their voices against this policy of the Soviet Union.

"But the measure of success of these reactionary efforts is to be found in this fact: that no people in all the world believes Chamberlain is serious in his proclaimed policy of halting aggression—*except to the extent that Chamberlain displays a serious interest in securing the cooperation of the Soviet Union.* That fact proves, with finality, that the great majority in all lands do understand and approve the foreign policy announced by Stalin."—Earl Browder, *The 1940 Elections*, p. 9.

Spain and the Capitulators

THE Spanish people have suffered a defeat. After a heroic two-and-a-half-year resistance to the gruelling military superiority of the thieving fascist gangs, the Spanish republic has been suppressed. Treachery has ignominiously accomplished what the brute force of the enemy could not accomplish. It was in Paris and London that the final blow against the Spanish fighters for freedom, Casado's betrayal, was prepared and organized, to the service of which the old Miaja sold himself, thereby sullying his name, once dear to the peoples, with bloodshed and dishonor. Reactionary "Social-Democrats" of the stamp of Besteiro, mercenary Anarchists, and Trotskyites already long in the pay of the enemy, all hastened to take part in the treacherous slaughter.

Desperately the Communist battalions, the revolutionary workers, hurled themselves into action against the betrayal; encircled by enemies, they made the motto come true—"Better to die upright than to live on one's knees!" They were no longer able to save the republic, and they were liquidated in the spirit of the "peace agreement" signed at Munich. The oh-so-clever "realist politicians" in the ranks of the Second International shake their heads and are disarmed—those oh-so-clever "realist politicians" who by their policy of capitulation helped fascism to become strong, and who are incapable of grasping that they are the embodiment of corruption while the Spanish fighters for freedom who resist to their dying breath are the embodiment of salvation and of the future victory of the workers' movement.

The Italian weekly paper published by anti-fascist intellectuals gave the right retort to all the capitulators:

"The Paris Commune was defeated too, but its memory has lighted for the past fifty years the way of the courageous vanguards of European democracy."

Over the corpse of Spain, bleeding from a thousand wounds, the vultures of imperialism are circling. In an impressive ballad the Austrian poet Nikolaus Lenau has painted an unforgettable picture of the three horsemen, who after the lost battle are riding to their death:

"And waiting as they ride to die,
Three vultures track them in the sky.
Screeching, they bargain how to dine:
That one's your feast, that yours, that
mine!"

This is how the vultures are circling about Spain, and quarrelling with horrible screeches over the booty, before it is even dead. Casado's treachery was the attempt of the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie to steal a slice of the booty from the German and Italian fascists and to be in at the kill. These Western "democrats," after drawing the noose of non-intervention ever tighter round the neck of the Spanish people, have proceeded to set up a slaughter-house of their own, and to oppose to the Ital-German Franco an Anglo-French Casado. The sacrifice of blood will cost them dear.

The German and Italian victors, whose work of butchery they had facilitated, have no thought of withdrawing from Spain. They are holding their Franco firmly in hand and fortifying their position against Great Britain and France. And the sympathies of the Spanish people for Great Britain and France in particular have, meanwhile, been driven from their hearts. It will not be quickly forgotten that Daladier's and Bonnet's

France met the Spanish refugees with the pistols of the Moroccan troops and the barbed wire of the concentration camp.

The German and Italian victors will establish themselves in Spain, but the ground will burn under their feet. They have decimated the Spanish people and will decimate it further, but they will not succeed in breaking its back. Not alone the ruins of the towns and villages, nor the dead of every family, nor the gaping wounds of the country will bear witness against them. With the hatred of the oppressed republicans will mingle the hatred of those Spaniards who were misled by Franco in order to subject Spain to the foreign yoke of Germany and Italy. They will realize that the people's army defended the freedom of the whole Spanish nation, and that they were destroying themselves when they marched against Madrid under German and Italian command.

The people who have once been free, and who have offered such dauntless, passionate resistance to enslavement, will stake everything to shake off foreign rule and settle accounts with its enemies. With words of conviction, Manuilsky pointed out in his report to the delegates to the Eighteenth Party Congress of the Bolsheviks:

"World reaction will not succeed in erasing from the memory of the Spanish people the heroic struggle of almost three years against the foreign invaders. This people has known better days. It has held arms in its hands; it has sown the lands of the landlords for itself; it has organized production in the mills and factories itself; it has tasted a life of freedom. Such a people will never be subjugated. Its sacrifices will be repaid a hundred-fold. They will remain forever in the minds of the working people an indelible memory of the infamy, not only of the fascist governments, but also of their British and French abettors and of all the exploiting classes. They will raise a storm of hatred among the peoples against their exploiters, and will transform the revolutionary indignation of the masses into great revolutionary deeds of the peoples. . . ."

The capitulators inside the Second International, who by their policy of capitulation share the blame for the tragedy of the Spanish people, are now attempting to discredit the Spanish fighters for freedom, and to dampen the workers' spirits. They come out against the Spanish Communists who were always in the front ranks of the battle and who had shed their blood and given up their lives for the Spanish republic.

They think they see their chance to vent their anger upon the brave leaders of the Spanish people—Pasionaria, Diaz, Negrin, and del Vayo. They are not even ashamed to tell the workers that it is the anti-fascist struggle which produces fascism.

That obnoxious creature Spaak, whose policy is ruining the Belgian Labor Party and bringing Belgium to the brink of the precipice, dared to make the assertion in an election speech on March 13, that fascism had conquered wherever Communism was strong, and he gave Italy, Germany and Spain as proof of this. With this, Spaak simply repeats the clumsy tale of the fascist propaganda machine, that fascism is directed solely against the Communists and not against the liberty of the peoples. Ostensibly, the German fascists marched into Austria because there was an illegal Communist Party there. Ostensibly, the Japanese militarists invaded China in order to suppress the then illegal Communist Party of China. Ostensibly, Ethiopia was annexed because Mussolini identified the Emperor of Ethiopia as a Communist. Ostensibly, Czechoslovakia and Lithuania only became German colonies because the Communists "provoked" German fascism to make them so.

On the other hand there is a country in which the Communists are far stronger than ever they were in Germany or Spain, a country in which they govern—the Soviet Union. By the remarkable logic of M. Spaak, this country should have fallen a victim to fascism before any other; in reality, however, the Soviet Union is the one country in which fascism is blocked—in contrast to Belgium

and all the other countries in which there are no strong Communist Parties.

People of the stamp of Spaak and his fellow capitulators in the Second International know very well, of course, that the Communists are the most tried and trusted fighters against fascism. Although M. Spaak knows this he shamelessly declared in his election speech that "the truth about the destructive activity of the Communists in Spain" would yet come to light. The "destructive activity" of the Communists in Spain lay in the fact that they fought for the unity of the people, for the consolidation of the republic and its People's Army, for unconditional support of the democratic people's government, that they marched out to die for liberty, and for almost three years prevented the fascist aggressors from proceeding with their attack upon European democracy at the tempo they had envisaged. While the Spanish Communists were carrying on this "destructive activity," M. Spaak was busily engaged in the "useful" activity of disrupting the Belgian labor movement and facilitating German fascism's national disruption of Belgium, his colleagues in Britain and other countries were conducting the "useful" activity of supporting the Munich betrayal and preventing the uniting of the workers. In judging what is "destructive" and what is "useful," therefore, Spask and his friends are in complete agreement with the German fascists.

To the capitulators "destructive" is every determined struggle against the fascist aggressors, "useful," on the other hand—bloodless capitulation. Spain is for them the model of a "destructive" attitude towards fascism, whereas they openly describe as "useful" the conduct of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

The workers will judge between the two examples. They will say to themselves: The Spanish people entered upon a war of freedom. During this war of freedom—several times there was a hope of victory for the Spanish people's army—even the fascist papers in Germany now admit this. That the Spanish Republic did not succeed in turning the vi-

tories of Guadalajara, Belchite and Teruel into a decisive defeat of the fascists is first and foremost the fault of the capitulators, who did not whole-heartedly support the Spanish people's struggle for liberty, who allied themselves to the disgraceful policy of "non-intervention," and who wilfully neglected to mobilize the forces of the international working class against Chamberlain and all the other accomplices of the fascist aggressors.

The Spanish people were defeated not on the Ebro front, but on the front of the class struggle in Great Britain, on the front, surrendered by the labor leaders, of the fight against Chamberlain. The Spanish people have been vanquished in the struggle for their own cause, but the moral forces which this struggle has awakened will align themselves 100 per cent against fascism and bring about its inevitable defeat.

Ask the Czech workers, ask the Czech people, whether it would not have been better, weapon in hand, to have defended the strongholds of democracy, than to have sunk without struggle into the most frightful slavery! They will all—Czech workers and peasants, intellectuals and officers—give you the answer, "It would have been better to fight." Neither Czechs, Slovaks nor Austrians will escape the bloodiest battles. They have become the slaves of the German war machine. German fascism will drive them as human materials, as cannonfodder, into its war. It will force them to die for a cause that is inimical and hateful to them, for the cause of their hangmen, their overlords. Under the most difficult conditions they will organize their struggle of liberation against the German warlords, and win back their independence.

The class-conscious workers of all countries will draw other conclusions from this struggle for liberty of the Spanish people than do the capitulators. Two circumstances prevented the victory of the Spanish people: they did not quickly nor thoroughly enough unify themselves, and did not, with relentless determination, do away with all the

enemies and saboteurs of unity; no united international working class came to its help with the exercise of all its strength. It was unity that made it possible for the Spanish people to resist the military superiority of the fascists

for almost three years. The unity of the mass of people in the countries which fascism threatens, and the unity of the international working class—that would be the decisive step for the liberation of all peoples from fascist aggression.

THE HEROISM OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE

"For two years and eight months the Spanish people, with super-human heroism and endurance, held back the fascist flood from the rest of Europe and the world. With horrible irony, those next in line as victims were the ones to strike the blows that broke the dike of the Spanish republic, and released the flood of fascist aggression now threatening every land. Only if and when the suicidal stupidity of that policy of the democracies toward Spain is fully realized is there any guarantee against new and more costly surrenders and betrayals. . . .

"Spain and China have shattered forever the myth of fascist strength and invincibility. They have proved that even unarmed peoples can meet and defeat the full force of the fascist war machines, if only the fascist powers are denied the help of the world democracies. The imposing superstructure of the Axis, that seeks to strike fear into the heart of all the world, is revealed as rotten to the core, being sustained only by the cheap and easy victories handed to it by cowardly or traitorous custodians of the interests of the democratic and non-fascist lands."—Earl Browder, *The 1940 Elections*, pp. 4-5.

The Working Class in the Fight for Peace

EACH stage in the growth of the second imperialist war is accompanied by a further development of the fight in the international working class for the preservation of peace. Every peace-loving person, and, in the first place, every worker, must consider very seriously why the fascist warmongers were able to occupy in quick succession Ethiopia, Austria, the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, part of Lithuania and finally Spain, and up to the present time the aggressors were not stopped.

In all countries the realization is growing that the successes of the fascist war alliance were really due not so much to its own strength as to the readiness of the reactionary bourgeoisie in the great "democratic" powers to surrender to its extortions and ultimatums, to leave the threatened weak states, not only without support, but even—as in the case of Spain—to take action against victims of fascist aggression.

Does not the realization of this fact force on us the following question: "What has happened and what should be done to assure the triumph of the true will of the great majority of the people against the stand taken by the capitulators and the accomplices of the fascist war alliance?"

Can the working class, the most important force and predominant factor in the fight for peace, be content with protesting against the acts of violence by the war alliance, with exposing the aid rendered by the reactionary bourgeoisie in the bourgeois-democratic countries, and with demanding a firm stand of their respective governments against the fascist powers?

The protests against the breaches of the law and violent acts of the war alliance have undoubtedly become more

urgent, sharp and forceful. They increased during the Spanish war of liberation to a mighty movement stirring the people all over the world.

Among the everlasting services of the Spanish people which neither rivers of precious blood, nor the scum of bare-faced lies and calumnies can erase, one thing stands out: they have demonstrated to the whole world and to the working class, confused by the capitulators of reactionary Social-Democracy, that a people, without most of the things assumed to be necessary militarily and technically, could resist for almost three years the forces of fascist intervention superior in numbers and technique. They demonstrated that a people could even attain successes in the unequal fight, that they were able to inflict smashing defeats on the enemy which will brand for a long time his dirty hide with bloody weals and festering scars.

This example shook the whole world. This seed sown by the Spanish people, who through their struggle advanced to the front rank of progressive peoples, will multiply a million-fold in spite of the fact that the combined efforts of the fascist invaders, on the one hand, and the reactionary bourgeoisie of England and France, on the other hand, have succeeded in putting into chains this nation which resisted and checked the fascist warmongers for almost three years.

These facts must form the basis of any analysis made by the organs of the working class press or any class-conscious worker in order to obtain finally an answer to the urgent harassing question: What must be done to prevent the spreading of the present imperialist war for the redivision of the world, thereby furthering the struggle for the liberation of all the peoples, which is a

fight in defense of all nations threatened and oppressed by fascism?

In his report to the Eighteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. Joseph Stalin said:

"It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and scepticism."*

It is already obvious that these agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class intend to utilize the temporary defeat of the Spanish people to cripple further the working class. The defeatists who "always knew" that the fight of the Spanish people could only end in defeat should take as a subject of their "learned" discussions the noble example of this nation and the bold initiative of its working class.

If the international working class wishes to arm itself against the destructive effect of this poison, in direct contrast to the poisonous crocodile tears of the defeatists in the working class movement it should take the fight of the Spanish people as the starting point of all discussions on its further struggle against the warmongers. Furthermore, in the future, all those who wish to voice opinion should be judged strictly by their energetic support of the Spanish war of liberation.

In order to reach a common understanding of the working class on the methods of preventing the further spreading of the imperialist war we should earnestly investigate the causes of the failure to develop, in spite of vast potential energies and readiness for action, a really effective struggle for the energetic support of the Spanish war of liberation.

The common people realize that if the fascist aggressors are to be driven back something more should be done than the passing of resolutions of protest. For in-

stance, the National Committee of the Transport Federation of France, in one of its resolutions, called upon the transport workers and the C.G.T. to demand jointly the calling of an international workers' conference by the International Federation of Trade Unions, this conference to include trade union representatives of all the countries and *all* trade unions whether members of the I.F.T.U. or not.

A demand for an international workers' conference, which will actually unite representatives of all different workers' organizations in order to discuss ways and means of fighting the fascist warmongers, is being raised by many organizations.

At the same time workers are demanding decisive measures against supplying war materials to the fascist countries. In the *International Information* of March 17, the organ of the Labor and Socialist International, it was reported that thousands of requests had been sent to the Prime Minister (first initiated by the Montreal Port Watch Committee of the Canadian Workers' and Farmers' Party), for the placing of an embargo on the sea transportation of raw materials for armament works of the aggressor states.

What conclusions does the leadership of the I.F.T.U. draw from such demands? What does it contribute towards the great necessity of creating cooperation of all the forces of the working class?

The leadership of the I.F.T.U. on March 7 made a public announcement that on March 29 and 30 they would hold a meeting to carry out action for peace. The I.F.T.U. bemoans the fact that the decisions taken by them regularly every March since 1936 were forestalled by fascist acts of violence. On every lip there is the question: "What will March, 1939, bring? Will it be a new act of violence, another disclaimer, a new link in the chain of treaty-breaking, or is the animal holding its breath?"

As the responsible leaders of the I.F.T.U. consider the present situation to be so grave, have they empowered the

* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 62. International Publishers, New York.

organizations under their control to resist energetically the expected surprise actions?

No, the leadership of the I.F.T.U., who expected surprise actions on the part of the fascist warmongers in the month of March, voted that it meet at the end of March in order once more to be able to pass resolutions and indulge in new discussions after the event. In calling this meeting for the preparation of peace activity, the leadership of the I.F.T.U. did not have in mind suitable action by the organized workers, but the adoption of a completely vague and obscure "common solution" of "justice on a world scale." This "common solution" deals with suggestions which have been sharply criticized by the economist, Charles Rist, in *L'Europe Nouvelle*, where he writes:

"To imagine that it is possible to stop the dramatic development of circumstances of the last five years by calling together around a conference table representatives of a few powers in order to grant Germany economic advantages . . . this idea would be funny if it were not so disturbing. It can only have one effect: to distract from the real problem of Europe's freedom."

From declarations of the I.F.T.U. secretariat one would gather that the leadership is quite seriously considering misusing the trade union movement as relay service for the "conference of all states" including Germany and Italy." They even explain the necessity of the invitation to the governments of Germany and Italy by the fact that Hitler and Mussolini are not the German and Italian people. The correct conception that the German and Italian people are not identical with their fascist governments does not make the responsible leaders of the I.F.T.U. arrive at the only possible conclusion—that just for that reason the working class of the remaining countries must pledge their support

to the German and Italian people in their fight for freedom. But they come to an opposite conclusion. They strive for the participation of governments of the fascist war-alliance in a conference, designed beforehand to appease their imperialist demands and legalize them by presenting them as "integral parts" of a number of problems awaiting a "common solution."

If the leaders of the I.F.T.U. were in earnest about their words: "It is the people who over the heads of their guilty governments should fight for a righteous peace," they would have realized by now that this "fight over the heads of the governments" has up to the present broken down because the responsible politicians in the leadership of the I.F.T.U. and the L.S.I. have decried and obstructed every step of the working class in the building of the united front which is indispensable for the leadership of this struggle. This is exactly what the working class and the common people were lacking in order to transform their solidarity with the people attacked by the war alliance, into a powerful drive against the warmongers and an insurmountable obstacle to the further spreading of imperialist war.

The place of the working class in the fight for freedom is not in the tow of the bourgeoisie, but at the head of the people menaced by fascism and ready to resist. This knowledge is penetrating into the working class. It becomes clear that the activity of the working class cannot be limited by the demand that the existing governments take a firm stand against the aggressors. The working class should bring its own strength into play in order to create the conditions which would make it impossible for the capitulators to falsify the will of the people and betray their interests. These are the essential lessons drawn from the development up to date of the second imperialist war being waged at present for the redivision of the world.

The Right Wing of the Labor Party and Cripps

THE Cripps campaign for the establishment of labor and democratic unity in Great Britain appears to be making tremendous headway. We arrive at that estimation not on the basis of the fact that one-sixth of the local Labor Parties have already declared for Cripps' policy but from the frantic efforts of the Labor Party Executive to counteract Cripps.

On the one hand we are told that the campaign is a complete failure and on the other we see the mobilization of every possible Labor member of Parliament by the Executive in order to condemn the Cripps policy, we see trade union executives distributing free to their members the brochure containing the Labor Party's reply to Cripps and also an unprecedented mobilization of the lower trade union officials, who are urged to attend all meetings of their local Labor Party in order to defeat the policy of Cripps.

At the same time there is a noticeable attempt to turn the discussion away from Cripps' memorandum and to entirely misrepresent the issue.

Chief among those who are undertaking this work is Mr. Herbert Morrison, who is ever a willing servant of the trade union bureaucracy, in its struggle against the Left.

On his inspiration the Labor Party executive has tried to concentrate on the following points, which are well expressed in the articles of Mr. John Marchbanks, the leader of the National Union of Railwaymen, in the *Railway Review* of March 3, 1939.

"If it is true that his campaign (*i.e.*, Cripps' campaign) is costing £500 a week in salaries to full-time organizers, assistants, and propagandists of various

sorts, the appeal for funds is one way of stopping people asking where the money comes from; and it will perhaps provide the nucleus of his General Election fund."

This is a cunning attempt to present the Cripps campaign as the campaign of a few rich men, who are seeking to capture the party for a policy of their own making. Everyone knows that from the seizure of Austria until the present day the movement for the establishment of a labor and democratic front in England has grown in volume; that in April, 1938, the annual conference of the Cooperative Party declared for this policy; that after Munich the rank-and-file of the Liberal and Labor Parties in two constituencies declared for unity and put forward a single candidate against Government nominees with good results and that the movement has awakened the greatest hopes among those who want to see the earliest defeat of the Chamberlain government.

In coming forward with his proposals, Cripps is not representing a small group of rich people, but a great number of young, thinking members in the Labor Party. But the cunning political gangsters of the bureaucracy seek to represent this campaign as that of a few rich men seeking to destroy the party.

The next bureaucratic trick is to represent the campaign as one aiming at disrupting the Labor Party. The aims of Cripps as set out in his memorandum are:

1. To make the Labor Party the predominant partner in a government based on a united opposition;
2. To secure the return of the maximum number of Labor members to Par-

liament who will support the new government;

3. To secure the return of Liberal and other progressive supporters of the policy of a united opposition in preference to Chamberlain supporters in those constituencies where there is no chance of Labor candidates being elected;

4. Each party in the united opposition to have the right to propagate its own fundamental principles.

It is astounding that anyone could see in such principles the disruption of the Labor Party. The French Socialist Party was not disrupted by entering the Popular Front. On the contrary, it increased rapidly in membership and influence. The danger of its disruption can only arise if it were to take up an anti-united front position and thus open the way to fascism.

"How the party's position is fortified by an agitation which begins by proclaiming that it cannot hope to win the next election without the help of Labor's inveterate foes" is more than I can understand, wails Mr. Marchbanks. Here is a good example of the unfitness of the Right trade union bureaucracy for political thinking. The Labor Party, if it is a serious party, cannot be harmed by facing the facts. If there is ample proof, as there is from the results of the municipal elections and the recent by-elections, that the Labor Party cannot win alone, that when Liberal and Labor candidates oppose each other at a by-election the result is the election of a Chamberlain candidate, then it is folly to scream that the position of the Labor Party is being endangered by a recognition of this fact. The foolish obsessions of the bureaucracy are well illustrated by the astounding remark that Cripps wants the Labor Party to seek the help of its "inveterate foes."

We have seen in the last years the menacing advance of fascism in Europe, an advance which is helped in every way by the existence of the Chamberlain government. Yet the Marchbanks see not the Chamberlain government, but the Left Liberals, the oppositional Conservatives,

and the progressive intellectuals who are resisting Chamberlain as being "Labor's inveterate foes."

The Cripps memorandum envisaged two possibilities: (a) a special emergency conference of the Labor Party in which the memorandum would be discussed, or (b) a discussion at the Labor Party Conference at Whitsuntide. From the first, Cripps planned the discussion to be one which would take place inside the Labor Party. He planned to take part in the Labor Party-Cooperative Party joint campaign and did so at the opening meetings of this campaign.

Only his expulsion, and the attacks on his policy by the Labor press, compelled him to give his campaign a more public character. Yet the perfectly constitutional attempt to change the policy of the Labor Party is described by Marchbanks as "a mass revolt against the party's responsible leadership and a repudiation of the program and policy decided upon by the movement's elected representatives in delegate conferences." Strange and wonderful. A campaign is started in order to influence the local Labor Party and the trade unions with a view to bringing about a change of policy at the next annual conference, and this appeal to the annual conference is interpreted by Marchbanks as an attempt to undermine the authority of the national conference.

When Cripps appeals for a plebiscite of the rank and file of the trade unions he is met by the following argument:

"Circumstances have not changed in any mortal sense since the delegates from the constituencies took their decision on this question at the Bournemouth Party Conference. The need for concentrating upon the overthrow of the present government was not less imperative than it is now, or more imperative than it was then."

Since the Bournemouth Conference in October, 1937, Austria has been conquered, the Munich Pact signed, Czechoslovakia occupied, the republican army in Catalonia defeated, and reaction in Great Britain has become more open. In addition, the Liberals have declared their

willingness to cooperate with Labor and a number of oppositional Conservatives are also prepared to do so.

Mr. Marchbanks and the bureaucracy ignore all this and oppose the unity of all opposition forces. Fascism marches across all Europe, and they complacently declare "circumstances have not altered in any degree."

But the occupation of Czechoslovakia was not only the sharpest possible exposure of Chamberlain, but also the sharpest exposure of the whole Labor Right wing who are opposing Cripps for those gentry had been shouting for

months that only a pure Labor government could defend Britain against fascism. Did they utilize the crisis to organize a struggle for a Labor government? They did not. They called for the resignation of Chamberlain and formation of "another government." In short, their solution is a reorganized Conservative government to which the Labor Party might give a certain amount of support. This is their real policy. They reject a Labor and democratic government, in order to remain the faithful and loyal opposition to a reorganized Conservative regime.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDUSTRY

"In the sphere of economic development, we must regard the most important result during the period under review to be the fact that the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new, modern technique has been completed. There are no more or hardly any more old plants in our country, with their old technique, and hardly any old peasant farms, with their anti-deluvian equipment. Our industry and agriculture are now based on new, up-to-date technique. It may be said without exaggeration that from the standpoint of the technique of production, from the standpoint of the degree of saturation of industry and agriculture with new machinery, our country is more advanced than any other country, where the old machinery acts as a fetter on production and hampers the introduction of modern technique."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, p. 19.

Juvenile Crime Under the Nazis

THE campaign undertaken by the Nazis against the increasing of crime in Germany provides proof not merely of their inhumanity but also of their complete impotence in the attempt to reduce criminal offenses in that country.

When children are brought up to become criminals, one can hardly expect them later to develop into honorable and honest individuals.

The reason for crimes committed by young persons in Germany at once becomes obvious when one reads the German fascist press. There is nothing accidental about this "wildness" of the German youth.

As members of the fascist youth organizations, these young people are trained by their superiors and "leaders" in shady adventures, in brawling, robbing, assault and murder. As members of the Storm Troops and similar organizations, the young people are forced to steal, pillage, terrorize and torture.

If they show signs of desiring to refrain from vicious attacks upon helpless Jews, for instance, they are punished. If they refuse to maltreat or beat to death the inmates of concentration camps, they themselves become liable to imprisonment in such camps or in jail. All such activities are looked upon in fascist Germany as legitimate, as part of one's "patriotic" duty, and are protected by law. Furthermore, legal protection is enjoyed by all who count as "Aryans" and who, on the grounds of their membership in the "dominant race," take over the wealth and possessions of those whom fascism has deprived of rights and driven into exile.

But the position is quite different for those who are not "leaders," or who are not acting upon the direct orders of their

superiors—those, in fact, who seek adventure in their private, rather than "political," capacity.

It is, after all, not so long ago that the "supreme leader" stated that it was not only the rich who had the right to own automobiles, but that every German "people's comrade," so to speak, would soon possess a German "people's car."

This form of automobile-mania—which once Hitler himself attacked—has been steadily inculcated into the adherents of German fascism for years by a process of suggestion carried on by the whole Nazi press. Add to this the intensified propaganda campaign to persuade people to purchase the new "people's car"—a campaign which, according to the Nazi press, has as its objective the purchase by every tenth person of the population of one of these cars on the instalment system. It will not be long, however, before this new deception of the people, by means of the "people's car," will become apparent.

But this car-craze has already claimed its victims. More and more the news columns of the Nazi press are occupied with the details of automobile stealing. The recent case against the Gose brothers, which aroused attention outside Germany, is an outstanding example.

"I wanted to make a pleasure trip," one of the brothers, Arthur Gose, nineteen years old, explained in court. And the *Boersen-Zeitung* commented that the youth probably believed that, through possession of a car, he could escape from monotony and from his hard work with a building firm. Undoubtedly, Arthur Gose and his 16-year-old brother considered themselves heroes when they got away with the car, at the point of a toy pistol. They didn't hurt one hair of the head of the bank director who owned the

car. According to the prosecuting attorney, the boys' parents are "respectable working people." Yet—

"There can be no mercy for car bandits, whether young or old, rich or poor. Off with their heads! No pardon will be granted!"

So wrote the *Voelkischer Beobachter* on March 3. This newspaper—which complacently states that the German police has succeeded in arresting "nine car bandits," and points out that the German courts now have the opportunity of pronouncing nine death sentences which should at once be carried out—naturally refers its readers to Adolf Hitler's words:

"The state is also determined mercilessly to destroy and extirpate criminal elements, car bandits, taxi thieves and murderers."

Thus, the Fuehrer's orders have gone forth! The extirpation has begun! A prosecutor nowadays never considers whether or not he could win back the "juvenile offenders" for the "people's community," as State Secretary Freisler demagogically requested. The report in the Berlin *Boersen-Zeitung* of February 28 of the trial of the Gose boys is typical of the real spirit and methods of dealing with juvenile offenses in Germany. It reads in part:

"There was not much hair splitting in this trial. . . . It is possible perhaps to dispute the limits between serious crime and an unpremeditated youthful escapade. But a car robbery remains a car robbery. And the law remains the law. This is how it is; this is how it should be."

These few words alone suffice to demonstrate the crudity, the complete absurdity, of the administration of the law in Germany. To what does it lead, when no distinction is made between serious crime and a youthful escapade? When one ignores the various details relating to an act, but relies solely on the principle: "Off with their heads! No pardon will be granted!"

Unfortunately, however, juvenile crime in Germany today is by no means solely a matter of youthful escapades. And, despite claims made by Nazi legal officials and others, both in the press and on the platform, offenses committed by juveniles have by no means lessened under fascism. The latest volume of the *Statistische Jahrbuch fuer das Deutsche Reich* (*Statistical Year-Book of the German Reich*) cannot help but admit the continual increase in juvenile offense, thus revealing the moral deterioration of German youth under fascism. Herewith we quote a few figures from the statistics regarding crime among German young people.

In 1937, 24,518 juvenile offenders were tried, twice as many as in 1934.

In 1937, 12,313 juvenile offenders were sentenced to imprisonment for criminal acts. In 1934, there were only 7,025.

In 1937, 12,475 juveniles were sentenced for larceny. Only 6,947 in 1934.

In 1937, 28 young offenders were convicted of murder, and 70 of homicide through negligence. In 1937, the number of young people convicted of crimes against the person was three times as many as in 1934 or 1933.

In 1937, 158 girls were convicted of abortions and infanticide. And in the first few months only of 1938, 109 girls were also convicted of these offenses. In 1935, the number of girls so convicted was only 57.

With regard to "offenses against morality," the following are the figures of convictions: 1933—612; 1934—779; 1935—1,058; 1936—1,465; 1937—2,374.

"The offenses against morality in 1937, for example, were divided as follows: 'lewdness with children,' 1,065; rape, 92; 'unnatural practices,' 973."

Startling as these figures are, it must be remembered that they by no means represent the whole truth. Offenses committed by young people who belong to the Nazi organizations are frequently hushed up, and thus never come into court.

The *Sueddeutsche Volksstimme*, for example, reported last February that fifty young people, belonging to the

League of German Maidens and to the Hitler youth, under the leadership of a 22-year-old girl troop-leader, Stoehr, when engaged in so-called field work, organized the performance of "orgies" in a furniture-van on the outskirts of Constance. Those taking part in this show were required to pay an entrance fee. A leading part was played by the daughter of an official of the Gestapo. Several of the girls are now pregnant. Some of the young people were arrested, others sent to farms. The *Bodensee-Rundschau*, a local Constance paper, published an official statement which sought to hush up the whole affair.

Such are the results of "training" in the Nazi youth organizations. And it is these "leaders" of the Hitler youth who elevate the memory of Horst Wessel, the pimp and cutthroat, as a pattern for German youth, who savagely suppress every ethical movement among the youth, who receive from Dr. Franck, the Reich "law leader" and president of the Academy of German Law, the opportunity of "taking an active part in the formation

of the new order in the Third Reich by participation in the Juvenile Laws Commission." (Reported in the *National Zeitung*, Essen, January 11, 1939.)

The innate sense of justice of the German people—which does draw a dividing line between youthful escapades and serious crime—is trampled underfoot. The Nazi system of education is systematically frustrating the desire of the German people to produce a new generation that will be decent, diligent and educated.

Fascism is not in a position to develop children and youths into useful and valuable human beings. It is incapable of bringing the youth who has erred back onto the right path. It is capable only of maintaining its own system by means of compulsion, brutality and terrorism. Once, however, the civilized German people and the civilized world have risen against this fascist barbarity and put an end to it, the German people will rise from the moral swamp into which fascism has led it, and will resume a decent and intelligent way of living.

From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union

BY JOSEPH STALIN

Report on the work of the Central Committee to the
Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)

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The Election of the New Pope

THE devout Catholics of all countries looked upon the election of the new head of the Catholic Church with great concern and all democrats and anti-fascists also understood that the decision would not be without influence on the struggle between the camp of humanity and the camp of fascist barbarism.

Immediately after the decease of Pope Pius XI, the Italian and German fascist press developed their campaign to influence the college of cardinals—the body which had to elect the Pope—in the interests of fascism. The Italian cardinals, who constitute the majority of the college (of the 62 members 35 are Italians), were subjected to pressure. The newspaper *Il Telegrafo*, which belongs to the family of the Italian Foreign Minister, Ciano, wrote as early as February 12, two days after the death of Pope Pius XI, that there is no "prospect" of the election of a "political" Pope. Among those candidates who could not be considered as likely to be elected the paper expressly named the present Pope, Pius XII, the Cardinal Pacelli.

The newspapers of German fascism demanded that no "religious" Pope be elected. In spite of this the axis brothers on both sides of the Alps have not really contradicted one another; they both wished to prevent the election of a Pope who was not willing to surrender to fascism.

The entire Italian press utilized the fact that Pius XI died one day before the tenth anniversary of the "reconciliation" between the Vatican and the Italian state (this treaty was signed on February 11, 1929), in order to designate the deceased Pope as the "Pope of Conciliation." The hint was only too clear. The Italian cardinals were made to

understand that it was their duty to elect a successor who would take over the task of "conciliation," i.e., one who would be prepared to surrender to the dark forces of fascism.

The newspaper of Ciano—whose sole service to Italy consists in the fact that he is the son-in-law of Mussolini—did not even shrink before the open grave of Pius XI but proclaimed that the Pope was an adherent of the warmongering "Anti-Comintern." It is well known that Pius XI, during recent years, had come out repeatedly against the pestilence of fascism, against its bloody racial teachings, against the cannibalism of the pogroms.

It is known—and the former Italian Foreign Minister, Carlo Sforza, is responsible for the correctness of this information—that Pope Pius XI in his talks with the British Premier Chamberlain and the British Foreign Minister Lord Halifax condemned the reactionary regimes and expressly reminded the British statesmen of the "duty of democracy." Pius XI was an opponent of socialism and communism, but he was convinced that fascism is nothing more than descent into barbarism and that fascism seeks to destroy the moral and spiritual qualities of mankind.

* * *

Of recent years the religious masses have had the opportunity to get to know fascism in all its hideousness and baseness. The cardinals who came from Germany would tell their colleagues how German fascism is seeking to stifle freedom of conscience, to besmirch human dignity, to trample humanity underfoot and to educate the youth in a spirit of brutality and bloodthirstiness.

Cardinal Innitzer, of Austria, who according to the sneers of the *Angriff* had tears in his eyes all the time he was in Rome, could tell of the sufferings of a people whose national independence had been destroyed by brutal conquerors. The cardinals of the United States of America were under the influence of the mighty movement of the American people against the fascist pogroms. The French cardinals were conscious of the fact that to give in to fascism signified nothing less than to dig a grave for the freedom of the French people. And the Italian cardinals themselves were very conscious of the fact that every one who turns to fascism for protection runs the danger of losing the freedom of decision and the worth of his own personality.

How great this pressure of Italian fascism on the cardinals became is shown by the fact that *Temps*, the organ of the French Foreign Office, considered it necessary to come out publicly on March 2 against the endeavors of the Rome-Berlin axis to influence the college of cardinals. *Temps* referred in its leading article to the particularly difficult situation and wrote:

"The racial doctrines and the totalitarian regimes contain, as is known, a great danger for the principles which form the basis of the teachings of Christianity and which must be defended in the interests of the future of the Church and civilization."

The fact that the cardinals withstood the pressure of fascism and elected Cardinal Pacelli as head of the Church is certainly a sign of the deep resentment of the religious masses towards the inhuman actions of the fascists. For years Cardinal Pacelli suffered the lowest and dirtiest attacks which the fascists could make on his honor. His election to the papacy is undoubtedly a protest against fascist barbarism and the warmongering of the axis powers. The entire press of the world, with the exception of the fascist and open pro-fascist papers, described the results of the election as a defeat or at least as a setback for fas-

cism. The fascist press in this connection is bad-tempered and angry.

The first address of Pope Pius XII was a message of peace:

"We call on all men," said he in the course of his speech, "to work for peace, for the peace of a calm conscience . . . for peace in the family . . . for peace finally among the nations in brotherly, mutual help, in friendly cooperation and in heartfelt understanding in the sense of the higher interests of the great human family. . . . In these disturbed and difficult days peace expresses the most deep-felt wishes of the heart."

The official *Giornale d'Italia* sought in vain to make excuses to its readers when it wrote that the Italy of today:

". . . is a model example of Christian charity in the living relations between the different social classes and the justice within the country which is assured for all."

* * *

Every religious person, however, who reads the address of the new Pope, will understand that it is a protest against the fascist regime, even though it is made in a simple and quiet form.

Fascism cannot have a "calm conscience" because a regime which breaks up and destroys the family and undermines peace between the nations has no conscience at all. The twenty-two million Catholics of Germany will apply the words of the Pope to a system which subordinates "the higher interests of the great human family" to the lowest interests and instincts of the imperialists who base themselves on racial conceit. The oppressed Austrian Catholics will say to themselves that instead of extending "brotherly, mutual help" German fascism attacked them with guns and bombs.

We cannot engage in idle meditations as to what will be the future attitude of the Vatican in the great questions which concern the human race. We do not see,

however, that this prevents us from openly declaring that we feel ourselves linked to the mass of religious people in the struggle for a real peace between peoples and for common action for the higher interests of the great human family. All clear-thinking workers and anti-fascists see before them the great task of working untiringly for the establishment of comradely relations with all

religious-minded people and of convincing them that fascism is war, injustice, oppression, barbarism and against the interests of humanity; that every step in the direction of surrender to the fascist warmongers is fatal to the cause of peace and that all forces must be united in order to bring the warmongers to a standstill and to advance the well-being of humanity.

RISE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING

"The abolition of exploitation and the consolidation of the socialist economic system, the absence of unemployment, with its attendant poverty, in town and country, the enormous expansion of industry and the steady growth in the number of workers, the increase in the productivity of labor of the workers and collective farmers, the securement of the land to the collective farms in perpetuity, and the vast number of first-class tractors and agricultural machines supplied to the collective farms—all this has created effective conditions for a further rise in the standard of living of the workers and peasants. In its turn, the improvement in the standard of living of the workers and peasants has naturally led to an improvement in the standard of living of the intelligentsia, who represent a considerable force in our country and serve the interests of the workers and the peasants."—Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 31-32.

Czechoslovakia Under the Yoke of Hitler

BY K. GOTTWALD

THE fascist rulers of Germany have perpetrated an act of brutal despotism and violence. They have invaded and occupied militarily Czechoslovakia. They have incorporated the Czech country into Germany and declared it to be a German "protectorate." They took Slovakia under German "protection," which is really just another form of occupation of the country, and the remaining part of Czechoslovakia, Ruthenia, was also occupied, with the agreement of Germany, by Hungary.

How could this new violation have occurred which destroyed the state and national independence of ten million Czechs and Slovaks?

* * * *

There is no shadow of doubt that the reasons for the occurrences of March 15 and 16, 1939, are to be found in the Munich agreement of September 29, 1938.

Hitler went to Munich with the lying declaration that he wanted only the "freedom" of the Sudeten Germans and of the Hungarians and Poles living in Czechoslovakia. However, only a few days later, when the so-called fifth occupation zone was determined by Hitler, who was given a free hand by the English and French governments, it became apparent that fascist Germany had settled the new frontiers of Czechoslovakia, not on the principle of nationality, but from a military and strategic point of view. The same thing was repeated at the so-called Vienna arbitration when Ribbentrop and Ciano dictated the new frontiers of Slovakia and Ruthenia.

The result of these two forced agree-

ments was the loss of 30 per cent of the territory and 33 per cent of the population of Czechoslovakia, including 1,200,000 Czechs, Slovaks and Carpatho-Ukrainians who fell under the domination of Germany, Hungary and Poland.

Furthermore, the new frontiers were determined in such a way as to reach out as far as possible to the most important centers of the country. The new frontier lay thirty-five kilometers from Prague, about three kilometers from Pilzen, about fifteen kilometers from Brno, one kilometer from Moravsky-Ostrava and ten from Olmütz. The frontier passed alongside Bratislava, the capital of Ruthenia, Uzhorod, was actually occupied, etc. Finally, all the important railways and roads were systematically cut. For instance, the important railway line connecting the eastern and western parts of the republic was cut *four times*. To reach Jasina (the western station of Ruthenia) from Prague, one had to travel through four different countries, twice through Germany, once through Poland and once through Hungary, then once through Rumania (the latter connection already existed before the Munich agreement). The railway line in the southeast direction (Prague-Bratislava) was cut *twice*. Anyone traveling on the main line from Prague to Bratislava had to cross German territory twice. Within the territory of the republic, there remained only one single, very inefficient line between Prague and the east, which was also cut at Kosice, so that the *whole of eastern Slovakia and Ruthenia remained without a railway connection and Ruthenia had not even a connection by road.*

It is obvious to everybody that this clever dismemberment was carried out for the purpose of rendering the country unprotected from the military point of view, enabling at any time its complete occupation without great tasks by the aggressor.

* * *

German fascism was not content, however, with the military and strategic dismemberment of the country. Simultaneously everything possible was done in order to *set one against the other the different nationalities comprising the republic*, rendering any unification in this respect impossible. With unequalled cynicism and shamelessness, German fascism used for its own ends the different nationalities of Czechoslovakia, inciting them against each other so as finally to enslave them all.

After the Munich agreement Slovakia and Ruthenia were granted "autonomy" under the patronage of Berlin. While the Reich's military forces occupied the German districts of the Czech country "autonomous governments" were set up in Slovakia and Ruthenia at the head of which were placed adventurers and corrupt and criminal elements. The underworld of the "Ukrainian" White emigration was sent from Berlin to Ruthenia in an attempt to stir up trouble in every possible direction. Comical megalomania and political madness led the dance. All kinds of adventures and criminals broadcast to the world speeches about the "Greater Ukraine," tried to set the Ruthenian people against the Czechs, demanded from Czechoslovakia the inclusion of eastern Slovakia in Ruthenia, provoked systematic frontier skirmishes with Poland and Hungary. In short, Berlin did everything in its power to convert that country in the Carpathian mountains into a seat of unrest.

Fascist Germany worked similarly in Slovakia. It helped to power a "Slovak government" consisting completely of mercenary individuals with a few mountebanks and scoundrels. This "Slovak government" only ruled for a few months but managed to bring the coun-

try to the verge of economic and financial bankruptcy. The relation between Czechs and Slovaks became more strained than ever. Berlin organized a systematic pogrom campaign against the Czechs in Bratislava. They inspired the Slovak "patriots" to demand the inclusion of Moravian Slovakia into Slovakia and, through bought agents, supported a systematic separatist movement which declared itself dissatisfied with autonomy and demanded the complete "independence" of Slovakia.

Hitler's agents had a completely free hand in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Without turning a hair they ventured to suggest to the Slovak and Ruthenian people that Hitler was their "liberator" and the Czechs their "greatest enemies." Today, the whole world can witness the way Hitler sold out Ruthenia to Hungary and established his "protection" over "independent" Slovakia which in fact means complete loss of national independence. In the light of these events the whole shamelessness and cynicism of the game that Hitler played on the peoples of Slovakia and Ruthenia become clear.

* * *

Fascist Germany prepared its act of aggression for March 15 in yet another way. The unity of the Czech people had already been broken at the time of capitulation on September 30 and the people were considerably disorganized. This was not sufficient, however, for the complete enslavement of the Czech people. Further preparation was necessary. This was carried out for Hitler by the treacherous clique of Czech reactionaries and the government of Beran Chvalkovsky, tolerated for the time being by Hitler.

On the orders of Hitler, their first task was the suppression of the most consistent fighters for national independence—the Communists. The Communist Party and all organizations in which the Communists played a leading part were dissolved. The Communists were dismissed from Parliament, municipal councils and works committees, and the Communist press was banned.

The reactionary Beran Chvalkovsky government attempted at the same time to demoralize the Czech people by all means in their power in order to break its will to resist German fascism. "Look daily at the map!"—this sentence was constantly repeated in different ways in the press, on the radio, at meetings and in official statements. "Look daily at the map!" That is how the cowards and traitors from the ranks of the Czech gentlemen wanted to spread among the Czech people a feeling of impotence and the hopelessness of any war of national defense. The Czech people were being prepared for the slavery forced upon them by fascist Germany, they were expected to forget the better part of their history, to accept the loss of national freedom with resignation and humility.

In this effort to break the backbone of the Czech people and to teach them submission to German fascism, Czech reaction was assisted by the leading circles of Czech Social-Democracy. After the capitulation of September, 1938, these circles, without consulting the masses of the party, declared the withdrawal of the Czech Social-Democratic Party from the Second International. They specifically rejected every acknowledgement of class struggle and socialism; they disbanded the Social-Democratic Party and organized a new party under the name of the "National Party of Labor." Although the new party was in "opposition" to the Beran Chvalkovsky government, the leaders of the party supported the government in its home and foreign policy, and participated actively in the government campaign against the desire for resistance felt by the people.

This campaign led by the government and the "opposition" leaders, designed to bring political demoralization into the ranks of the working class and the whole people, was justified by its authors on the ground that Hitler would grant national and political independence to the remaining parts of dismembered Czechoslovakia, providing the Czech people were sufficiently submissive to fascist Germany and ceased to think of a new fight for national defense. How wrong

it was to reckon on the mercy of fascist Germany was demonstrated on March 15. There can be no doubt that the cringing policy of the Czech reactionaries and of various Czech "democrats" after Munich facilitated Hitler's act of violence of March 15.

* * *

The events of the few days preceding March 15 were characteristic of Hitler's shameless and cynical manner of finding pretexts for acts of violence against foreign states. Shortly before this fatal day the Prague government was forced to repress the activities of the Ruthenian "minister," Reway. This gentleman, bought by Berlin, carried out the instructions of his Berlin masters in such a way that not only did the conditions of Ruthenia herself, but also her relations with Hungary and Poland, become intolerable. This made the Prague government seize the opportunity of the payment of the budget deficit of Ruthenia to dismiss Reway from his post. This time Berlin did not protest against it in earnest although it usually interfered in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. It is obvious now that this was done in order to provoke Prague to take further measures of a similar nature.

Shortly afterwards relations between the Slovak and Prague governments were further strained by the negotiations concerning the Slovak budget. Hitler's agents in Slovakia increased the agitation for complete "independence" of the country, that is to say, for its separation from the republic. In agreement with Berlin they were preparing for a putsch. The Berlin government, on whose initiative this putsch was prepared, at the same time informed the Prague government of the preparations for the putsch and gave it to understand that they would have nothing against its suppression.

The Prague government, having received support from Berlin in this respect, decided to suppress the separatist movement which was preparing the putsch in Slovakia. On March 10, the government of Tiso was removed from

office, a few separatist traitors arrested and the Sidor government appointed. Berlin only waited for these measures to be taken by Prague. It gave its separatist agents in Slovakia instructions to organize resistance to the measures taken by the Prague government. In the whole German press and on the radio, a campaign against Czechoslovakia was let loose, the Vienna broadcasting station was put at the disposal of the leaders of the separatist movement, who fled from Slovakia. At the same time Hitler instructed his Nazi agents in different Czech towns to start riots provoking police interference in order to be able to declare to the world that Czechoslovakia was a "seat of unrest and disorder."

After that, events developed very quickly. On March 13 Hitler summoned the deposed Slovak "ministers" Tiso and Durcansky to Berlin, where he gave them instructions immediately to separate Slovakia from the republic. On the morning of March 14, President Hacha, under pressure from Berlin, convened the Slovak "parliament." Surrounded by bands of S.S. and S.A. men from Germany, it declared for the "independence" of Slovakia. On March 14, President Hacha and the foreign minister, Chvalkovsky, went to Berlin, at a time when the first military detachments of the Reich had already begun the occupation of Czech territory by marching into the Ostrava district.

On the night of March 14-15, Hacha and Chvalkovsky signed a treaty in Berlin surrendering "voluntarily" the sovereignty of the Czech country and "placing the destiny of the Czech people in the hands of Hitler."

Early on the morning of March 15 military detachments of the German Reich crossed the Czech frontier at every point, and before noon Prague was occupied. On March 16 the regular troops of the German Reich penetrated into Slovakia and simultaneously Hungary began to occupy Ruthenia.

It is particularly insolent on the part of Hitler Germany to attempt to convince the world in all seriousness that

Czechoslovakia and especially the Czech districts had voluntarily invited Hitler for their own protection. As a proof of it the shameful document signed on the night of March 14-15 in Berlin by Hacha and Chvalkovsky is cited. In the meantime, the whole world discovered—and the shameless fascist gentlemen from Berlin do not make a secret of it either, as for instance, the *Volkische Beobachter* of March 16 informs us—that the occupation of the Czech territories started in the evening of March 14 while Hacha and Chvalkovsky were still on their way to Berlin.

By the time they arrived in Berlin in the middle of the night, the whole of the Ostrava basin—one of the most important industrial centers of Czechoslovakia—was already occupied by the military forces of the German Reich and Hacha and Chvalkovsky were presented with an accomplished fact.

* * *

The forcible occupation of Czechoslovakia by fascist Germany unmasked the whole network of lies, deceit and hypocrisy on which the Munich policy was founded.

Hitler swore at Munich—and Chamberlain as well as Daladier assured everybody—that he did not want anything else but justice for the Germans, the "liberation" of the Sudeten Germans. He said the same a few months earlier when Austria was raped. That was a lie. Earlier still, by his war against the Spanish republic, Hitler demonstrated to the whole world that he was concerned not only with the enslavement of the German people but also with the subjugation of other people.

The occupation of Czechoslovakia by these bandits, the destruction of the national and political independence of ten million Czechs and Slovaks, is a new and irrefutable proof that fascist Germany is waging a predatory onslaught against other people and other countries.

In connection with Munich, Hitler declared—and Chamberlain and Daladier supported him—that he had no further territorial demands in Europe.

It is clear that this was also a lie. The Communists issued a warning immediately after Munich that for the working class and the people in general there could not be a more dangerous illusion than the belief in the lying tales emanating from pro-fascist circles that the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia is the price to be paid for peace and that German fascism would indulge in no further aggression. The Communists had warned the common people only recently of the preparation of further coups by fascism and its accomplices.

Comrade Dimitroff wrote after Munich:

"The fact should be clearly appreciated that the question has already passed beyond the bounds of the arbitrary revision of the Versailles Treaty by the fascist states. *What is at issue is a new repartition of the globe.* What is at issue is not only the redistribution of the existing colonial possessions. Fascism is placing on the order of the day the question of the *repartition of Europe itself*, the colonization of a number of European states and the imperialist enslavement of a number of European peoples." *

The annexation of Austria, the intervention in Spain, the occupation of Czechoslovakia and, finally, the occupation of Memel which followed immediately thereupon, the colonial regime established in the countries occupied by fascists—all this indicates how correctly the Communists predicted the international events and how necessary it is for the Communist Parties to advance and carry out the policy of the strengthening of the forces of the working class and the people in general for the coming struggle against fascist aggressors. In view of the present developments it becomes particularly obvious how correct were the proposals made by the Communists for an international conference of working class organizations for the purpose of establishing unity of action to stop fascist attacks on the international arena. These developments also show

what a tremendous responsibility the leaders of the Second International have incurred by continuous resistance to the calling of such a conference for the establishment of unity of action of the working class.

The crime against Czechoslovakia and its people roused public opinion to unprecedented heights of anger. The originators of the "Munich policy" and its chief promoter, Chamberlain, are experiencing the pressure of public opinion in their respective countries. Chamberlain sheds crocodile tears over Czechoslovakia whose enslavement he himself helped to bring about in Munich.

Can the international proletariat, can the public opinion of the world believe in the sincerity of such people as Chamberlain? They share responsibility not only for the fate of Czechoslovakia. At the most critical period of the Czechoslovak tragedy, the same Chamberlains perpetrated an unheard of scandalous betrayal of the Spanish people and of the Spanish republic, handing it over to Hitler and Mussolini.

Comrade Stalin in his historic report to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) brilliantly disclosed the causes of this policy of the so-called democratic countries, which not only retreat before fascist states, but often actually assist them (the way it happened in Munich and with respect to Republican Spain).

"How is it that the non-aggression countries, which possess such vast opportunities, have so easily, and without any resistance, abandoned their positions and their obligations to please the aggressors?

"Is it to be attributed to the weakness of the non-aggressive states? Of course not! Combined, the non-aggressive democratic states are unquestionably stronger than the fascist states, both economically and militarily.

"To what then are we to attribute the systematic concessions made by these states to the aggressors? . . .

"The chief reason is that the majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly England and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the pol-

* Georgi Dimitroff, *After Munich*, p.12.
Workers Library Publishers, New York.

icy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of 'neutrality.'

"Formally speaking, the policy of non-intervention might be defined as follows: 'Let each country defend itself from the aggressors as it likes and as best it can. That is not our affair. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victims.' But actually speaking, the policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression, giving free reign to war, and consequently transforming the war into a world war. The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work, not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and to exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear of course, 'in the interests of peace' and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents."*

In effect the true policy of the reactionary ruling circles of England and France is dictated by their desire to direct the fascist aggression against the Soviet Union.

These "Peacemakers of Munich" do not hesitate to sacrifice to the fascist barbarians whole nations and countries in order to win them for the war against the Soviet Union. Therein lies the *class content* of the hypocritical policy of non-intervention.

It is clear that only by a combined mighty effort and through a struggle of the united organizations of the working class, and all the other forces in society threatened by fascism, will it be possible to force upon the capitalist governments a policy directed against the fascist ag-

* Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 12-13, International Publishers, New York.

gressors which would force them to stop their predatory advance.

The authors of the bankrupt "Munich" policy cannot overlook, however, the consequences, which the policy they have followed up to the present, has upon themselves. It was to them that Comrade Stalin addressed the following words at the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B):

"Far be it from me to moralize on the policy of non-intervention, to talk of treason, treachery and so on. It would be naive to preach morals to people who recognize no human morality. Politics is politics, as the old, case-hardened bourgeois diplomats say. It must be remarked, however, that the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a fiasco for them."*

* * *

Hordes of Gestapo and S.S. men penetrated into the territory of Czechoslovakia with the army of occupation. They organized a terror of an extent and character as yet never witnessed by the people of Czechoslovakia.

Foreign correspondents write from Prague about the setting up of a concentration camp for 80,000 men. Over 20,000 men have already been arrested and mass arrests are still proceeding.

The Hitler regime is preparing a frightful vengeance against all anti-fascists who in any way associated themselves with the struggle for the independence of Czechoslovakia. This involves a great number of people of the most varied political tendencies. It involves Communists, Socialists, bourgeois democrats, pacifists, Jews, Sudeten German refugees, as well as emigrants from Germany and Austria. It affects the fate of hundreds of thousands of people caught in a trap in the blockaded frontiers of Czechoslovakia, hounded by the Gestapo.

Houses and complete blocks of houses are cordoned off by Gestapo and S.S. detachments, searched through from attic to cellar and all who arouse the slightest suspicion of the Gestapo are arrested.

* *Ibid.*, p. 15.

It is as yet impossible to say how far the bestial vengeance of Hitler's hangmen will go. The *worst* is to be feared. Undoubtedly, Hitler will endeavor to behead the Czech and Slovak people, *destroying physically* its best political and cultural representatives, and, first of all, the best and most honest representatives of the Czech and Slovak working class. International solidarity of the working class, and practical help in the saving of tens of thousands of anti-fascists is the question of the hour.

The fact that Hitler uses the services of lackeys and detestable traitors and cowards from the ranks of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie—to the dismay of the world and the political demoralization of the Czech and Slovak people—should not make anyone draw conclusions that fascist Germany will treat annexed Czechoslovakia in any way different from a conquered colony.

* * *

However, in spite of all this, the history of the Czech and Slovak people does not end with March 15 and 16, 1939. It would be wrong for the world to conclude from the capitulation without a fight of the Czech ruling class and even the voluntary acceptance of the Hitler yoke by the Slovak bourgeoisie, that the Czech and Slovak people sanction the ignominious behavior of their ruling class. Of course not!

The Czech and Slovak people will continue their underground struggle against the rule of the oppressors and colonizers, against the foreign domination of fascist Germany. It will be an unusually difficult struggle. Yet it can be said with complete certainty that occupied Czechoslovakia, and, especially the Czech regions, will never become a safe rear for Hitler.

In the difficult struggle for national liberation, the Czech and Slovak people, and first of all the Czech and Slovak working class, will unite their forces with the working class of Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland. The Czech and Slovak workers know very well that their class comrades in Germany, Aus-

tria and the Sudetenland not only disapprove of the predatory invasions of German fascism, but fight for the overthrow of that fascism which oppresses them just as brutally. The German working class should also know that the struggle of the people of Austria and Czechoslovakia against the foreign rule of German fascism and for their national liberation is not directed against the national interests of the German people but for the common goal—the overthrow of the common enemy, the overthrow of swastika fascism.

The common people of Czechoslovakia will derive their greatest strength from the knowledge that a great, powerful, unconquerable country, the land of socialism, land of the future, the Soviet Union, is on their side, on the side of right, truth and justice.

With great emotion and confidence, the people of Czechoslovakia heard these words of Stalin pronounced at the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.):

"We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country."*

The important role played by the mighty Soviet Union in the struggle against fascist aggression was made clear by the note sent by the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the name of the Soviet Union to the government of fascist Germany on March 18 after the annexation of Czechoslovakia. No country used such clear language as the U.S.S.R.; no one revealed so completely the deceit of the fascist gangsters, condemned so decidedly the violence wrought by fascist Germany against the peoples of Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet note repudiated the impudent assertion of German fascism that Czechoslovakia was the seat of unrest threatening the peace of Europe. It asserted the established truth that "the Czechoslovak Republic was one of the few European countries in which, after the World War, internal peace and

* *Ibid.*, p. 17.

friendly foreign relations were effectively assured."

Hitler attempts to "legalize" his violation of Czechoslovakia by the well-known document signed by Hacha in Berlin. The Soviet note answers it to the point:

"The Soviet government does not know of a constitution of any country empowering the head of the state, of his own accord, without the approval of the people to bring to an end its existence as a state. It is a proposition difficult to accept that any nation would be willing to surrender voluntarily its independence, and agree to its incorporation in another state, even more so in the case of a nation which fought for hundreds of years for its independence, and for the last twenty years enjoyed an independent existence. President Hacha of Czechoslovakia, in signing the Berlin treaty on March 15, 1939, was not empowered to do it by his people and acted in flagrant violation of Articles 64 and 65 of the Czechoslovak Constitution and contrary to the will of the people."

In his acts of piracy, Hitler frequently appealed to the right of nations to self-determination. The Soviet note affirms that in the case of Czechoslovakia, no one asked the people its opinion and that:

". . . in view of the lack of any expression of opinion by the Czech people, the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia by German troops and the following acts

of the German government could only be considered as arbitrary, violent and aggressive."

The Soviet note also affirms that similar violence was used against Slovakia and Ruthenia and states that:

". . . in view of the foregoing, the Soviet government cannot recognize the incorporation into the German Reich of Bohemia and Moravia, and under whatever disguise, Slovakia, as legal or in conformity with the generally recognized standards of international law and legality, or in conformity with the principle of the self-determination of the people."

This energetic intervention of the Soviet Union in defense of the victims of fascist violence demonstrates not only to the peoples of Czechoslovakia, but to all the people threatened by fascist barbarism, that in the Soviet Union they will find their most strong supporter. This makes clearer still the necessity for the working class of all the capitalist countries and for all the peoples to join forces around the land of socialism, to join forces primarily for the struggle against the fascist aggressors.

It is as true for Czechoslovakia as for all the other small nations that it is not only the class question of the working class, but also the national cause of the people as a whole, which are inseparably linked up with the Soviet Union. That is why, come what may, this rightful cause will be victorious.

The European Colonial Empire of German Fascism

BY K. FUNK

THE imperialist war for a redivision of the world, which has now been carried on for over two years is drawing with increased rapidity more and more countries into its vortex. The "new order in Europe," which the Berlin-Rome fascist war alliance has for so long been propagating, has assumed form in the establishment of a German colonial empire in Central Europe.

If any further proof were needed that the Munich agreement and the so-called arbitration of Vienna have accomplished exactly nothing towards the provision of a basis for a durable peace, such proof would be forthcoming in full publicity and with brutal emphasis in the facts of the annexation of the Czechoslovakian Republic and the assault on Lithuania, and in the further moves made by German fascism which results from these two occurrences.

If there had still existed politicians who sought to allay their supporters' anxiety by setting forth the facile assurances of the representatives of the Hitler regime as the guarantee of a peaceful further development of affairs, the brutal actions of German fascism have decisively given them the lie. For assurances such as those given by Germany—after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, arranged in Munich—that she had no further territorial claims in Europe are now deemed unnecessary by the German fascists themselves, despite their pride in the effectiveness of their recent thimble-rigging game.

Politicians of various tendencies—even including some German anti-fascists—

who were so short-sighted as to allow German fascism some sort of "right" to the so-called inclusion of allegedly German peoples in Austria and Czechoslovakia, are now landing in increasing difficulties, as German expansion seizes upon Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians and others; for these recent acts of force lend themselves even less than the former ones to the camouflage of "self-determination of peoples"—which the fascists have so distorted as to turn it into its direct opposite.

And, finally, those circles in the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party, who once sought to excuse their policy of surrender to German fascism by the pretext that one cannot blame Germany for cancelling the provisions of the Versailles Treaty in her own way, have been deprived of their subterfuges; for the violent acts of German imperialism can hardly any longer be explained away, even by the most tractable capitulationist, as being merely a process of correction of territory ceded by Versailles.

The harsh and sharp-edged truth is rather the following:

"Fascism is placing on the order of the day the question of the *repartition of Europe itself*, the colonization of a number of European states and the imperialist enslavement of a number of European peoples."*

* Georgi Dimitroff, *After Munich*, p. 12, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

GERMANY'S IMPERIALIST COLONIAL EMPIRE IN EUROPE

Beginning with the annexation of Austria, German fascism has seized the following territories:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Area in square miles</i>
Austria	32,370
Bohemia	20,102
Moravia and Czechoslovakia	
Silesia	11,708
The Memel Territory.....	935
"Protectorate" of Slovakia.,	8,908

Rumania and Lithuania, it is true, are not officially German "protectorates"; nevertheless their sovereignty—because of the "trade agreements" concluded with Germany and the direct supervision of German commercial and other organs in those countries—is extremely limited. Germany has been able to force upon these countries extensive and trenchant proscriptions with regard to further economic development. She has already reduced them to the status of semi-colonies. In the "free city" of Danzig, also, practically all laws are imported from fascist Germany.

Thus, we may see that, beginning with the annexation of Austria, Germany has seized some 75,000 square miles of new territory in Europe. We do not include in this total the territory of Spain, which is now to a considerable extent under the direct or indirect control of Germany. Nearly 20,000,000 human beings have also been forcibly incorporated into the German Empire.

Of these 20,000,000 who have been impressed into the German Reich, only about 500,000—the inhabitants of the Memel and Danzig areas—belonged to the population of Germany at the end of the first World War. Even official German writers estimate the number of German-speaking inhabitants of the Memel territory, before the separation from Germany, as only 50.9 per cent. The figure given for Danzig, however, is 95.4 per cent, but this is contradicted even by figures from other German official sources which give the percentage as 85 only.

We give these figures in order, once more, to scotch the pretense that the recent German *coups de force* represent any kind of readjustment of unjust provisions of the Versailles Treaty. By means of the Versailles Treaty, Germany ceded, partly directly and partly through plebiscites, 21,704 square miles of territory, with 4,602,000 inhabitants. We omit from this reckoning the 5,600 square miles and 1,874,000 inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, which provinces Germany annexed from France in 1871, and which reverted to France after the last World War. Thus Germany's total area before the World War was 102,672 square miles, without counting Alsace-Lorraine.

A comparative study of these figures will show that German fascism has now established a colonial empire in Europe whose extent is far greater than that of pre-war Germany. National-Socialism, which proclaimed itself for so many years as a fighter against the "Versailles bondage," and which thus brought German chauvinism to the boil, has established a system of oppression and exploitation of foreign peoples in comparison with which the imperialist Versailles Treaty was mild indeed.

Even German official figures on the territories which were separated from Germany by the Versailles Treaty show that in some of them there was actually a majority of non-German nationalities. For instance, the German government itself claimed only 34.6 per cent German-speaking inhabitants for Posen, and 25.6 per cent for North Silesia. The system of imperialist oppression which Germany has now erected in Europe robs 20,000,000 people, who do not belong to the German nation, of their freedom and right to self-determination.

With the establishment of this European colonial empire, Germany has proceeded to the realization of the most far-reaching war-like claims—claims which, during the first World War, were put up only by a small group of ultra-jingoist imperialists. On the pretense of seeking a revision of the cramping provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and by means of an outrageous distortion of the right of

self-determination of peoples, German fascism has in actual fact rushed in where the most extreme German imperialism previous to and during the World War never dared to tread. While certain so-called democrats and pacifists, and even some Socialists, still babble of peace, agreement and settlement, modern German imperialism is going ahead as though the war of 1914-18 had never interrupted its march.

THE "NEW ORDER" IN EUROPE

Ever-active German propaganda seeks to present the establishment of a Nazi colonial empire in Europe, the imposition of a most oppressive alien rule over the peoples of Southeast and North Europe, as the "new order," by means of which a "senseless experiment has been liquidated" and a "house of cards" brought down—this, of course, with reference to Versailles. The *Voelkische Beobachter*, for example, states that "these countries are only returning whence they came," and that "creative solutions" have now been provided in the place of "miserable bungling."

The *National Zeitung* writes that Germany has become for Southeast Europe, "in the highest sense that orderly principle which it has lacked ever since the collapse of the old order." Thus writes the organ of the second greatest German mining concern, the *Hermann Goering Reichswerke*. Alfred Rosenberg, the most obscurantist of the obscurantists of our time, in an article in the *Voelkische Beobachter* of March 23, 1939, described Germany as "the essential Europe," and recalled words from the period of the Emperor Frederick I, "Barbarossa," to the effect that, compared with the German people, the French and the English are but small nations; and proceeded to parallel the present tasks of Germany with that "European mission" which was undertaken by the medieval German emperors of the "holy Roman empire of the German nation."

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the great French Revolution is now being made the occasion in the literature of German fascism for taking a

stand in principle against the conceptions—molded by the bourgeois revolution—of the nation and the citizen. In their place, we are offered—as "creative solutions"—a return to the confusion of the Middle Ages, the resumption of medieval bondage and oppression, modernized and intensified by fascism.

German fascism is discovering "justified claims" which are allegedly based upon the "national principle," on "vital space" or on "historical precedents." The most aggressive imperialist power that at present exists comes forward as the most determined enemy of all the achievements of the bourgeois revolution, as the deliberate instigator of a return to medieval conditions of government and justice, which appear to be more useful for its imperialist ends than those forms which developed out of the bourgeois revolution.

It is neither true nor ingenious to waive aside as "romantic" the way German fascism is holding fast to medieval concepts and forms. Inasmuch as this "romanticism," deliberately cultivated by the most unscrupulous imperialists, is intended to revive from the limbo of forgotten things medieval conceptions of justice, it is the expression of an advanced process of decay of imperialism, an attempt to enslave whole peoples and nations, to paralyze their growth and reduce them to the status of helots of the "Germanic" ruling class.

German fascism acts in accordance with the ancient principle of the German knight and bandit: Why trouble to secure by the plow what we can gain by the sword? What other peoples have acquired by diligent toil, the German fascists confiscate by force. Their bayonets lacerate the flesh of foreign peoples; the chains of their tanks crush underfoot the liberties of peoples which have been secured only after centuries of endeavor and struggle.

The "principle of order," as German fascism itself proclaims, consists in the resurrection and intensification of that reactionary violence, of that sacking by alien invaders of the products of the labor of other peoples, against which

so many European peoples had to defend themselves for centuries.

This "principle of order," very much to the detriment of the development of Germany, proved itself to be, during the Middle Ages, an obstructive, reactionary force, opposed to all progress. It sought to prevent the independent development of the Slav peoples in Europe. It constituted itself a barrier to the culture of the Latin countries. It acted as the destroyer of progressive ideas, such as those of Johannes Huss of Prague, for example. It sought to impose upon the Czechs and other Slav peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe a parasitical Germanic ruling caste which endeavored either to exploit or to suppress these peoples both economically and culturally.

It stubbornly opposed the development of the towns and of the leagues of towns, and kept Germany in continual warfare with neighboring countries. The "principle of order" never aided progress; the latter had to make its way by means of a protracted struggle against this principle.

The German historian C. G. Heinrich, wrote in his *Geschichte des deutschen Reichs* (*History of the German Empire*), published first in 1778, as follows:

"The Germans were not in the least concerned with tilling the field and awaiting the harvest. They did not want to secure by sweat what they could receive through blood. . . . And their lawbooks, to a great extent, consisted of decrees dealing with cattle."

We are far from any desire to wax righteously indignant over the actions of those far-off ancestors of the modern Germans; we quote this passage solely to demonstrate that any return to this—as represented and practised by German fascism—means a return to barbarism, and that the principle of order is a most reactionary one.

For progress and culture received no impetus from the reactionary power of the medieval "German" state. The German people, in the long run, had to pay dearly for the reactionary ambitions of its medieval emperors and princes and

for the marauding expeditions of the notorious Teutonic knightly orders—for everything, in fact, that is nowadays adduced as the historical basis for the "principle of order."

For the German people was plunged into countless wars, large and small; it was delayed in the building of its own state. Through the Thirty Years' War, it was reduced to the position of the most wretched and backward people in Europe.

It was only through the protracted and painful penetration of the principles of the great bourgeois French Revolution that the German people was at last enabled to resume contact with progress. The ideas of the French Revolution invigorated and fertilized the prostrate intellectual life of Germany.

Georg Forster (1754-94), one of the most progressive German thinkers—it was he who said: "All peoples of the earth have an equal claim on my good will"—in a letter dated November 3, 1792, described an event which took place in the city of Mainz, which well illustrates the reactionary effect the "principle of order" had had on the German people. He wrote:

"This afternoon they are going to dig up the stone under the court-house, which the Elector Diether von Isenburg, three hundred years ago, caused to be laid there and bound with iron hoops and chains, when he said: 'I am laying down a roll of butter here for you; when the sun melts it, you shall have your rights and liberties again.' Mainz was a free town of the Reich, and Diether forcibly deprived it of its rights. The ceremony, which is to take place to the accompaniment of military music, will cause a sensation, particularly as it connected with the planting of a Freedom Tree. . . ."

While the European peoples which are colonized and oppressed by German fascism are storing up an avalanche of hatred to concentrate upon the reactionary bearers of the "principle of order," the German people also has no cause to remember the dark days of its past in the way that Rosenberg would have it. It is to the honor of the German people that

it has had among its distinguished men, some who have candidly and honestly written and spoken of that dark era and the bloody and shameful reality of the "principle of order."

F. C. Schlosser, an outstanding German historian (1776-1861), in his *Weltgeschichte* (*World History*) has described the "cultural" and colonizing activities of the German knightly orders in the Baltic states, as follows:

"The German knighthood found it . . . much more advantageous to gain glory, large estates and heaven in lands near to Prussia, than to journey to the far Orient. . . . Like the Spaniards of the sixteenth century in America, the knights dealt abroad death, fire, plunder and inhuman cruelty. . . . The speech, customs, liberties and nationality of the natives fell into a decline, even when not extirpated."

As opposed to the falsely idealized picture of the colonizing activities of the German knightly orders in the Baltic countries, the incorruptible Schlosser tells us that these countries had become "solely the concern of the Pope and of those families who were able to endow their sons with benefices, estates and official positions, to which birth alone entitled them."

Schlosser writes as follows on the foundations of the representatives in these days of the "principle of order," to whose acts the fascists of today so eloquently refer:

"Innocent III endorsed the Order and at the same time declared the poor pagans to be outlawed. Emperor Otto IV enfeoffed the Bishop of Riga with their land, as though it were his to dispose of, and the Teutonic knights, who were now streaming ever more numerously into the new German feudal territory, exemplified on the Baltic Mohammed's principle, that whoever will not believe in the great prophet must either die or be regarded as equal to the dog and other unclean beasts."

Let us conclude our picture with an account by Schlosser of the suppression of an uprising by the tormented Estonians:

"Finally excess of suffering brought about a general uprising (1343). The entire embittered mass of the Estonian people arose, slew over 1,800 knights with their women, children and servants, and laid siege to the capital, Reval.

"In their extremity the Estonian knights called upon the German order which dispatched a relief army which acted frightfully. Instead of describing in our own words what then broke over the unhappy Estonians, let us reproduce the simple account of a writer who literally reproduces his sources. From this we shall better realize . . . what a fate was prepared for the working people on the land in all Europe by the unfortunately over-romantic knights.

"'The Estonians,' says the historian Hiärn, 'sent to the Lord Master and his seven hundred horsemen and promised him that they would submit to the order and bring it tribute, but on the condition that they be freed from the nobles whose arrogance and tyranny they could no longer endure. But the Lord Master did not allow himself to be misled by this and with his men attacked the peasants and slew nearly all of the ten thousand. The principal instigators and authors of the revolt were all tortured to death with frightful suffering and the city of Reval was thus happily freed through the help of the order. The Danish governor, after having most heartily thanked the Lord Master and his followers for such kindness, proceeded to request further help against the Finns.'

"The order did not hesitate, however, to draw advantage from the aid it had rendered. It sent in a bill of costs to the Danish governor similar to that which it had formerly sent to the king of Poland . . . with regard to East Pomerania; and with such effect that the Danish king . . . in 1346 relinquished by treaty Estonia, as a province which was too burdensome to Denmark, to the German order with all his rights, against the sum of 19,000 marks in full-weight silver."

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), one of the most important German poets and philosophers, rendered the following judgment on the Germanization of the Baltic countries, in his work, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity*:

"Finally the Teutonic knights, who had

been summoned by the Duke of Masovia to aid against the pagan Prussians, received from a German emperor as a gift everything that they themselves had been able to conquer, and what did not actually belong to him, the German emperor; they conquered Prussia, joined with their brothers of the sword in Livonia; received Estonia from a king who did not know how to maintain it; and thus, finally, they ruled from the Vistula to the Southern Dvina and the Neva, in knightly arrogance and debauchery. The old Prussian nation was exterminated, and Lithuanians, Samoyedes, Courlanders, Latvians and Estonians were shared like cattle among the German nobles. After long wars with the Poles, they lost, first the half and then the entirety, of Prussia, and finally also Livonia and Courland. In these districts they left nothing behind them, to be said on their behalf, except that it would be difficult to rule a conquered country more arrogantly and oppressively than they had ruled these shores which, had they been cultivated by some of the seaport towns, would certainly have become quite different lands."

It is upon such disgraceful and pernicious colonization, as this great thinker describes, that are based the "just claims" now evinced by German imperialism, with regard to the Baltic states, just as with regard to Southeast Europe. It was to such heroic deeds that the representatives of the Hitler regime referred when, on the day of their occupation of Memel, they stated that this land had been German seven hundred years ago and had remained German ever since.

Rosenberg definitely demands of the German people that it shall pay attention to these particular periods of German history and act accordingly. Rosenberg describes the restoration of this robber-knight tradition as Germany's "mission" in these times. The "principle of order" of the imperialistic present reaches way back to that of the darkest ages. In the same manner, in Germany itself, fascism has reduced former German citizens to the status of serfs, as part of its task of establishing and preserving the rule of monopoly capital. In the same manner, it introduces, with ref-

erence to all spheres of life, examples from the feudal era which in "modernized form" appear to be most likely to maintain such a regime in existence.

However contradictory it may appear, at the first glance, this matching of medieval "romance" with the most definite and aggressive form of modern imperialism, it is nevertheless quite natural and well expresses Lenin's brilliant definition of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. And let us mention in passing that, as a matter of fact, Lenin has anticipated, in his article "On the Junius Pamphlet," precisely such a development of aggressive colonial policy in the center of Europe, making it dependent upon the result of the first imperialist world war.

Now, while the new imperialist war is becoming a fact, while German imperialism is endeavoring to realize and in part succeeding in realizing the war aims which it failed to achieve in 1914, it has become necessary to have a clear view of this development, and to call things by their right names.

The present advocates of this "principle of order" appeal to the bearers of this principle in the Middle Ages, to the slaughterers of peasants, the marauders and spoilers, the enemies of the peasants and of the hard-working citizens and craftsmen of the towns, to the barrier to progressive development of human culture. How fitting! For the present-day advocates of the "principle of order" are the plug-uglies, the lick-spittles, the mercenaries of the modern barrier to human progress. They boast of the successes of the modern application of the "principle of order," as, for instance: "Agreements for cultivation on a gigantic scale, as that of the I.G. Farbenindustrie with no less than 48,000 peasants of Southeast European countries." *National-Zeitung*, Essen.

They allude to the transplantation of a chronically sick economy—rendered so through fascism—to countries outside Germany, the installation of parasitical supervisory bodies and debt-collecting authorities in the economic fabric of such countries as the annexed Czechoslovakia, or of Rumania, impressed into Germany's

service, as being progressive, although it is obvious nothing other than nakedly imperialist robbery. The *Deutsche Bergarbeiterzeitung*, the organ of heavy industry, published on March 12 of this year—several days before the entry into Czechoslovakia of the invader's troops—a bulky special supplement entitled "Southeast Europe." In this publication, the maps no longer represented Czechoslovakia as a separate country, but described the Southeastern countries neighboring on Germany as provinces of "German vital space." From precisely the same point of view as that employed today by German fascism in carrying out its measures of colonization, the most reactionary and diehard representatives of German imperialism spoke in 1915.

In the war aims propagated in 1915—usually called the "Professors' Memorial," for it was signed by 325 professors, as well as 148 lawyers, and so on—appeared the same principles of imperialist plunder policy—formulated by people like von Class, Haushofer, and others—as Hitler has adopted and developed yet further:

"We must get rid, once and for all, of the French peril. For the sake of our own destiny, we must mercilessly weaken this country politically and economically, and improve our own military-strategic position in relation to it...."

Based upon this objective in the struggle for the mastery of Europe, the following European colonization plans were drawn up in the statement of war aims in 1915:

"We must hold Belgium fast in our hands, politically, militarily and economically, whatever reasons may be adduced against it. Economically, Belgium will bring us a substantial increase in strength. Also racially it can provide us with a considerable accession when once, in the course of time, the Flemings, who are so closely related to us in culture, have freed themselves from their Latin environment and recall their old Germanicism. . . . No political influence in the Reich should be conceded to the inhabitants; and in the areas relinquished by France the principal concerns and

properties must be transferred from hostile to German hands."

In this manner, the German imperialist war demands of 1915, now revived, point out stage by stage the drive for the domination of Europe.

With regard to the role to be played by the Baltic states as German colonies, and bases for the further conquest of Europe, the following demands were expressed:

"The boundary rampart and foundation of the protection of our people's growth is offered by land" which, as a German frontier in the East, "shall also make secure the Prussian Poles against too direct influence by Russian Poles who might perhaps rise to secure their independence."

"But furthermore we shall not hesitate to refer emphatically to that ancient land of the Russian Baltic provinces, cultivated for seven hundred years by Germans, whose fertile and sparsely populated soil presents a colonizing area rich for the future . . . and whose peoples—Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians—could form a reliable source of casual labor, so urgently needed."

There we have the "new order" of the *Volkskische Beobachter* of today already proclaimed. The "new order," which is in fact the old disorder which the German aggressors, ancient and modern, have always caused with their plans for the domination and Germanization of Europe, and who, wherever they can gain a foothold, form the most reactionary obstruction to the progress and advancement of the various peoples and nations, in fact, of all mankind.

SOON GOT, SOON GONE

From ancient betrayals and bitter experience, the German people has derived many lessons in the rapid rise and precipitous fall of great "empires." It is no accident that present fascist propaganda is compelled to argue vigorously against comparisons, frequently made among the people, with regard to the fortune and downfall of Napoleon and other usurpers. Certain German proverbs of the

people are particularly popular just now in Germany. As for instance: "Soon got, soon gone!" "Ill-gotten gain never thrives!" "A bow long bent at last grows weak!" "The pitcher goes so often to the well, it comes home broken at last!"

One cannot avoid the timeliness of a comparison between the fascist present imperialist policy of conquest and Bismarck's attitude in 1866, after the defeat of the Austrian army. Hastily but vainly, Hitler endeavors to explain his policy as the direct continuation of Bismarck's. In German bourgeois circles, which otherwise would appear to approve a policy of imperialistic expansion, misgivings and disagreement are being ever more generally expressed, and are based in part upon considerations which Bismarck recognized in his time. Bismarck, who undoubtedly was sensitive to the national feelings and interests of other people, for reasons of his own, resolutely opposed the annexation of Bohemia to Germany, after the victory of the Prussian troops over the Austrian. He was too fearful of the unquenchable, embittered hatred of the Austrians, the Czechs, the Hungarians and other South-eastern European peoples. Therefore he vigorously countered the suggestions of a triumphant march of German troops in Vienna. In his memoirs, he later wrote:

"For reasons of our later relations with Austria it appeared to me to be necessary to avoid the possibility of humiliating memories. . . . Even at that time I had no doubt but that we would have to defend the achievements of this campaign in later wars, as Frederick the Great had to defend the results of his two first Silesian wars in the heavy fire of the Seven Years' War. . . . How these later wars for the maintenance of gains would take shape could not be foreseen. . . . This consideration constituted for me a political reason for preferring to avoid, rather than favor, a triumphant entry into Vienna in the Napoleonic style. . . . We had to avoid wounding Austria too deeply, and leaving behind us more bitterness and desire for revenge than necessary." (Our translation.—*Ed., The Communist International.*)

That Bismarck well realized the reasons why he made this decision, is revealed in the following passage, also from his memoirs:

"What could be substituted in Europe for that which the Austrian state had fulfilled, from the Tyrol to Bukovina? New organizations on this area could only be lastingly of a revolutionary nature. We could not use German Austria, either in whole or in part; nor gain a strengthening of the Prussian state by the addition of provinces such as Austrian Silesia and portions of Bohemia; a merging of German Austria with Prussia would not succeed; nor could Vienna be governed as an appendage to Berlin." (Our translation.—*Ed., The Communist International.*)

These purely utilitarian considerations of Bismarck's, which are in complete contradiction to the practice of the fascist usurpers—who hasten to occupy every conquered small town with pompous ceremony—play an important part today in the minds of definite sections of the German people and are joined to the bitter realization by the masses that every imperialist conquest of German fascism immediately brings forth further aggressive aims; and that, after each new conquest or successfully employed blackmail, the position of the German masses is worsened.

The year that has passed since the annexation of Austria has also been the hardest year of armament-economy decrees, growing scarcity of foodstuffs, oppressive compulsory labor, brutal terrorism and disgraceful pogroms. Together with the establishment of a German colonial empire in Europe, the chains have been riveted yet more firmly on the limbs of the German people itself. The increase in terrorism in Germany results from the well-based apprehension of the German taskmasters that the discontented German masses might be strengthened, by the drive of the peoples oppressed by German imperialism, in their own struggle for freedom; and thus the struggle of the German masses against fascism could be allied with the struggle

of the oppressed peoples, to form a powerful current which the fascist central government could as little resist as could, in its time, the medieval "empire" stand against the combined pressure of the peoples, the German towns and peasants.

If the Germans were only to do what Rosenberg most fears—namely, to estimate their own history critically—this new "principle of order"—the most aggressive imperialism of our time—would

be recognized by the German people for what it is: the most reactionary force of our day which, while oppressively and parasitically ruling foreign peoples, also bars the path of the German people towards progress and liberty, and is imperilling the future of the German nation. The recognition of these facts would unite wide masses of the German people, including sections of all classes, to fight fascism for the sake of the future of Germany.

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The Weakness of Italian Fascism

BY F. LANG

FTER Munich, both open and disguised agents of Hitler fascism, as well as false "pacifists," tried to persuade the people that the sacrifice of Czechoslovakia was necessary for the preservation of peace. The warnings of the Communists, the warnings even of Right politicians such as de Kérillis and others, that people should not give way to treacherous illusions, were rejected with the remark that Hitler "himself" declared that he had no more territorial claims in Europe, indeed, that with respect to France, he had foregone any claims to alteration of the frontier. But the rejoicing over the "salvation" of peace was not of long duration. The axis turned a little, and the Italian axis-partner made his demands on France in threatening tones.

On November 30, 1938, exactly two months after Munich, the Italian Foreign Minister, Mussolini's son-in-law, Ciano, made an important long speech in the Chamber on foreign affairs which reached its climax in the statement that Italy would know how to realize her "natural claims," whereupon the fascist puppet-members of the Chamber, following their instructions, broke out into cries of "Tunis! Corsica! Nice! Savoy!" In the days following, in Rome, anti-French demonstrations were arranged, and in the press a violent campaign of agitation was unleashed against France, the demands and "natural claims" were made higher and higher, the Italian fascists demanding not only Jibuti and a "just" share in the Suez Canal Company but, practically speaking, command over the Mediterranean. After a speech

by Mussolini, on January 28, 1939, in Rome, organized agitators shouted "To Paris! To Paris!" and groups of students marched through the streets and took up these cries.

The German fascist press, which can write only what is agreeable to the régime and approved by it, supported Italy's demands. As early as January 7, the *Voelkische Beobachter* wrote:

"If from this [the renunciation of the Laval Agreement] Paris tries to draw justification for a complete rejection of Italy's claims, such an attitude would in no way be in accord with the situation. The French cause is not served by such sentiments. . . . The future must show whether it is wise for Paris, at this juncture . . . to take up a standpoint which eventually might prove untenable."

The aggressors openly threatened war and, in his speech of January 30, Hitler left no doubt remaining that, in the event of war, Germany would stand by Italy.

The essence of fascist foreign-political propaganda is blackmail, the threat of war. Those recipients of fascist money in the countries against which the attacks are directed endeavor to persuade the public that the fascist aggressor is so "strong" that one can only advise capitulation to him with all possible speed. It is therefore to the purpose to investigate whether fascism is indeed "so" strong as its mouthpieces maintain.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF ITALIAN IMPERIALISM

The condition of Italian imperialism is indicated by three factors:

1. The meager subsistence basis, almost complete dependence on other countries for a whole series of vitally important raw materials.

2. Ruined finances, a continually increasing budget deficit, great burdens placed on the populace by the colonial policy, by excessive armaments and preparations for war, an inflated state and government apparatus, loss of important markets as the result of sanctions, economic autarchy and the axis policy.

3. Increasing popular discontent, impoverishment of the widest masses, shrinkage of the purchasing power of all classes of consumers and an ever decreasing power of resistance as a result of the demoralization caused by the economic corruption and knavery of the fascists in power.

MEAGER SUBSISTENCE BASIS AND POVERTY IN RAW MATERIALS

The fascists and their apologists boast of the successes of the "Grain Battle" and supposed independence in producing necessary foodstuffs. The truth, however, is that Italy, although it has very much restricted the importation of foodstuffs, must import from abroad every year an average of more than 1,100,000,000 lire in livestock and foodstuffs (1934, 1,123,000,000; 1935, 1,127,000,000; 1937, 2,890,000,000; and 1938, 1,423,000,000 lire). The *Economist* of June 18, 1938, in a long article on the subject, shows that Italy would be independent of wheat supplies from abroad only if it could produce a yearly average of 85,000,000 quintals of wheat. Actually, however, the average in the last five years (1934-38) was only 68,000,000 quintals.

Although the fascist regime forces the masses of consumers to buckle their belts tighter, and in spite of all the decrees on compulsory adulteration which actually makes the bread unpalatable, Italy has to import about 200,000,000 lire worth of wheat yearly.

In order to extend wheat growing areas, not only would great resources be necessary which are not at Italy's disposal, but it would be necessary to utilize,

more than previously, the pasture lands, which would cause a great decrease in the number of cattle. It appears already that the number of sheep declined from 11,754,000, in 1918, to 10,269,000 in 1930 and 8,862,000 in 1936. The number of goats declined from 3,083,000 in 1918 to 1,893,000 in 1930 and 1,795,000 in 1936.

In order to be self-sufficing in olive oil production—an indispensable article of food in Italy—Italy would have to plant fifty million more olive trees. Even if the plan to plant half a million trees every year were possible of accomplishment, it would be a century before Italy would be able to supply her own needs.

Even according to fascist authorities, large sections of the Italian people today are undernourished. One can see from an inquiry made by the Italian Central Statistics Office that in the province of Lecce, in Calabria, 47 per cent of persons examined were undernourished; in Salerno province 41 per cent, in Sassari (Sardinia) 40 per cent and in the Bozen province 27 per cent. This, despite the fact that the calories contained in wine were reckoned in the total of units of nourishment calculated. The meat consumption declined from an average of 18.5 kilograms * per person per year in 1930 to 14.2 kilograms in 1937 (as compared to 50 kilograms in England and 40 kilograms in France). The consumption of vegetables declined from 42 kilograms per person per year in the period 1926-30 to 32 kilograms in 1937. Similarly, the consumption of sugar, milk, etc., has declined considerably.

Thus economic autarchy is essentially a system of hunger and want. In spite of this, Italy is still unable to provide herself with food for the people. In this connection the following points must not be lost sight of:

Of every 1,000 Italian workers (according to the Census of 1925) 557 are engaged in agriculture, as against 384 in France and 75 in England. More than a half of the working population lives by agriculture, which brings in about 32,000,000,000 lire annually. A protracted

* A kilogram equals 2.20 pounds.

war which would withdraw a corresponding percentage of the agricultural population from their normal occupation, would completely disorganize agriculture, having catastrophic effects on the provision of food for the army and the people, and would have a devastating effect on the country's financial capacity.

Italy's meager subsistence basis is the first serious difficulty of the regime and of Italian imperialism.

With respect to supply of raw materials for industry, Italy's dependence on other countries is even greater; indeed, in many branches Italy is *entirely* dependent on imports from abroad.

Italy has no coal and must import annually coal to the value of 1,730,000,000 to 1,740,000,000 lire (1937, 1,741,000,000; 1938, 1,732,000,000). Italy has no petroleum. She had to import in 1937 crude oil to the value of 568,000,000 lire, and oil products to the value of 256,000,000 and, in 1938, crude oil to the value of 656,000,000 and oil products to the value of 136,000,000 lire. In 1935 Italy imported 2,111,000,000 tons of crude oil and oil products, in 1936 1,814,000,000 and in 1937 2,534,000,000 tons. A "great" war, however, would increase many times Italy's petroleum requirements.

The chief sources of her supplies are the U.S.A. (about 460,000 tons), Central America (370,000 tons), Iraq (214,000 tons), Iran (195,000 tons), and Rumania (420,000 tons). One need not count on all these states continuing their supplies and, apart from this, Italy would be able only at great cost to herself to give some scanty protection to sea routes. Germany itself has no petroleum with which to help out Italy; Albania does not produce more than 70,000 tons per year. Since Italy lacks coal, she could not produce petroleum from coal.

Italy has no tin, no nickel, no rubber (yearly import of the latter is 200-220,000,000 lire, apart from the fact that in wartime the need for rubber would be greatly increased). She has no cotton, importing 1,056,000,000 lire worth in 1937 and 820,000,000 lire worth in 1938. She has no chromium, no phosphates (in which Tunis is so abundantly rich), and

no jute. She has to supply 90 per cent of her requirements of wool and 95 per cent of cellulose by imports.

Italy has to import copper (about 60,000 tons yearly, the chief source of supply being Spain). She is poor in iron ore (importing annually about 230,000,000 lire worth of iron and scrap, together with 500,000,000 lire worth of semi-finished and finished iron goods).

Italy's total import of industrial raw materials, in 1937, ran to 6,245,000,000 lire and in 1938 to 5,290,000,000. Of the total of all imports, 45-48 per cent is accounted for by imports of raw materials for industrial purposes.

A pro-fascist political writer sums up Italy's situation with respect to raw materials in the following sentences:

"Italy must export in order to live. In order to export, she must import raw materials. In order to be able to buy these raw materials, she must export again—or acquire them by conquest. Conquest costs money and this money, for the most part, can only come from making refined products of raw materials. . . . Apparently it is impossible to break the circle; just as in the case of Japan, it inexorably forces armament and foreign trade to develop side by side."

This is the second difficulty, a vulnerable point of Italian fascism. Without petroleum, without coal, without rubber, without cotton, without wool, Italy cannot carry on any protracted war. In the imperialist war she fought on the side of Great Britain, France, Russia and the United States, the powers richest in raw materials. In a war against France, Italy would be stripped of its sources of help; after the exhaustion of her resources she would be face to face with insoluble problems.

The *Critica Fascista*, a fortnightly directed by the Italian Minister Bottai, in its number of January 1, let the cat out of the bag when he wrote:

"The entire development of the European political situation of the last two or three years is unfavorable (*contrario*) to French-English domination, but was brought about—if one can use the expression—by England's cooperation."

As soon as this "cooperation" of England and France with Italy stopped, Italy would be in an entirely precarious situation.

Thus we see that, in the field of supplying the population with the necessary foodstuffs as well as that of supplying the arms industry and the army with necessary materials, Italy's situation is very unfavorable.

ITALY'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

The Italian foreign trade balance has been adverse for years. Italy must import more than she exports. In 1937, the excess of imports over exports amounted to 5,640,000,000 lire. In earlier years the adverse foreign trade balance was to a large extent covered by the tourist traffic, and money sent to relatives by emigrants (they sent about 2,000,000,000 lire to Italy each year), etc., so that the debit balance was not too heavily burdened. In the last few years, however, tourist traffic has declined and money sent home by emigrants is scarce. The reserves of the Bank of Italy have had to suffer in order to cover the deficit in the foreign trade balance, and they are shrinking to a threatening degree.

In recent years, the Budget has been showing continually increasing deficits. Expenditure for wild armament schemes, for the expeditions against Ethiopia and Spain and for Africa (colonial power) has sapped the very marrow from the bones of the people. In 1935 the (proven) ordinary and extraordinary expenditures for the army, navy, air force and the African adventures amounted to 6,159,000,000 lire; 1936—16,759,000,000 lire, 1937—23,755,000,000 lire. The ordinary expenditure alone (which often amounts to only half the extraordinary expenses) for armaments and colonies for 1938 are given as 7,148,000,000 lire. The recently presented Budget for 1939-40 provides the following expenditures for these purposes:

Africa	1,896,800,000 lire
Army	3,406,000,000 "
Navy	2,703,000,000 "
Air Force	2,165,000,000 "

That is, for armaments, apart from colonies, a total of 8,274,600,000 lire, to which must be added a further 2,475,700,000 lire as the first instalment of an expenditure of 10,000,000,000 provided expenditure for arms.

The National Budget finished 1935 with a deficit of 2,030,000,000, in 1936 expenditure exceeded income by 12,686,000,000, in 1937 by 16,230,000,000 and in 1938 by 12,173,000,000 lire. The Budget for 1939-40 provides for a deficit of 52,449,000,000 lire but which in all probability will be much more. In the four years 1935-38 the regime piled up a deficit in the national Budget of 43,119,000,000 lire. The *Economist* of January 9, 1939, from which the figures for 1935-38 are taken, notes in this connection that:

"Signor Mussolini's root problem . . . is, to find sources of revenue with which to cover this extraordinary expenditure. Balancing the Budget on paper may cause him small worry; finding hard cash is another matter. That search for hard cash must at bottom depend for success in increased production and on improved foreign trade. And for neither of these desirable things are the signs very favorable."

No, the signs are not favorable. Germany, the "loyal" axis partner, captures Italy's markets. To give one example only, the total Jugoslavian imports from Italy declined from 555,000,000 dinars in 1934 to 430,000,000 dinars in 1937. The proportion of Italian shipping bearing Jugoslavian exports declined from 60 per cent in 1933 to 44 per cent in 1937. Italy has been squeezed out of her place as middleman for Jugoslavian merchandise, especially timber. Similarly, the foreign trade of Hungary with Italy declined considerably. Germany has strengthened her position in the economic life of Bulgaria, Turkey and a whole list of other countries, mainly at the expense of Italy.

Her colonial empire means an extremely heavy burden for Italy. Before the conquest of Ethiopia, Italy had to spend 400-500,000,000 lire annually on the colonies. The attempts to settle

Italian farmers in the colonies, in spite of the familiar land hunger of the Italian farmers, in spite of the advantages bestowed on the colonists by the régime, have hitherto miscarried. Reports spread during recent weeks about large-scale settlement of peasants in Libya have had, as the press of the world has established, the purpose only of masking the concentration of troops in the colonial regions.

Ethiopia swallows up tremendous sums of money. Italy has to maintain large contingents of troops there because the population cannot be trusted; indeed, large areas are actually not in Italian hands at all. It is not a land flowing with milk and honey, as Mussolini persuaded the masses before the expedition. The population will not exchange food for paper lire, so that everything has to be brought in from Italy.

In order to open up the country's wealth, Italy needs means which, without a loan, she can never raise from her own resources. And it is always possible that in the event of a war, if Italy's forces are occupied, the Ethiopians will revolt and chase the insolent conqueror from their country.

The fascist régime is driving Italy to ruin. The parasitic apparatus of the state and of government has been enormously inflated. More than a million militiamen, and incalculable hosts of corporations, vigilance committees, police, an enormous array of O.V.R.A. (secret police) agents, high, middle and low officials and fee-takers of all species have fastened themselves like leeches on the nation's body and suck Italy dry. The poorer the nation becomes, the more bosses enrich themselves at its expense. Italy has been financially undermined. But a modern war costs money, more money, and still more money. Here we have Italy's third difficulty.

IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE MASSES AND GROWING DISCONTENT

We have attempted to show the conditions for guaranteeing the necessary raw materials needed for the daily bread,

the provisioning of the country and the arms industry. What then is the situation with respect to the third, and, in a protracted war, the decisive factor, the factor of the people? Can the régime count under all circumstances on the complete and unwavering support of the masses? Is the régime sufficiently capable of resistance to be able to bear great burdens and trials such as a *modern war against richer and stronger countries* would involve?

Corruption has fattened on Italian public life for years.

While the masses lead beggars' lives, the bosses, big and small, enrich themselves enormously. It is an open secret in Italy that Mussolini, who was at one time penniless, is today one of the richest men in the country. The Mussolini-Ciano family (before the fascists took power the Cianos were as poor as church mice) has controlling interests in the giant arms firms, shipbuilding and insurance companies. It is the largest shareholder of the great "Terni" arms trust which is connected with the English Vickers Company. The Mussolini-Ciano family has an interest in the great Tirrenio-Florio-Citra arms group. The enormous armaments ordered in the "national" interest are a source of gigantic profits to the supreme head of the government and the Ciano family allied to him by marriage.

Minister of State Pirelli and his brother control 39 companies with a total capital of 7,818,000,000 lire. Donegani, president of the mammoth chemical trust Montecatini, in which the German concern I.G.-Farbenindustrie [dye trust] has an important interest, controls 33 companies capitalized at 3,333,600,000 lire. Agnelli, president of the Fiat Works (Fiat was one of the most important financiers of the March on Rome), controls 22 companies with a total capital of 1,890,200,000 lire. Volpi controls 14 companies with a capital of 1,752,000,000 lire. Senator Vittorio Cini controls 16 companies with a capital of 2,480,000,000 lire. Senator Ettore Conti, president of the Banca Commerciale,

controls 18 companies with a capital of 3,474,100,000 lire, and Senator Borletti controls 29 companies with a capital of 1,000,000,000 lire. The large landlord Count Pavoncelli, who owns tens of thousands of hectares of land, controls 11 companies with "only" 669,000,000 lire. The list could well be continued but these few examples will suffice. All these multi-billionaires are among the pillars of the régime, they are the real masters of Italy. The fascist bully Farinacci, and Starace, secretary of the fascist party, do not lag behind their "master" in voracious greed.

The lesser ones imitate the "greater"; they treat the districts and provinces under them as their own domains, blackmail the people, buy country seats and palaces, landed properties and businesses, abuse their official positions in order to make the wives of their "subordinates" docile. Corruption flourishes with state approval.

But the people starve. The cost of living rises but wages remain stationary unless they are reduced. Unemployment and short time decimate working class wages. We have seen already how the consumption of meat, vegetables, sugar and milk continually declines. The Turin worker earns only half of what the Paris worker earns. Women's work is so badly paid that secret prostitution has reached an enormous extent, which in its turn results in an extraordinary increase of venereal diseases. At the present time Italy has (that is, according to official statistics) 750,000 people with syphilis, of which a third are women. The régime has very little money to spare for combating venereal diseases.

A forty-hour week is in effect, on paper, for industrial workers, with the exception of workers in arms factories, but in actual fact in many factories, for example, in the Ansaldo dockyards of Genoa, work goes on up to sixty hours a week. The collective agreements concluded by the fascist "trade unions" with the employers, and binding for the workers, have been so cunningly put together that no worker can discover

and determine what his real wage is. In their wages policy, the fascist "trade unions" endeavor, by means of sharp gradation of wages, to drive a wedge between various groups of employed workers, thus permitting no formulation of joint demands.

Apulian agricultural workers have recently described the situation in an article published abroad. They wrote:

"The bread is not satisfying, work is becoming more and more scarce, prices are rising, in short, the living conditions of the people and especially of agricultural workers are becoming more and more insufferable."

If the land workers demand their rights, the fascist "trade union" leaders say: "If you want work, be silent and do what the master wishes."

An Italian who lives abroad and visits his home occasionally gives his impressions in the following words:

"I am now in —— and could ascertain that there the blackest misery reigns. . . . My home is still beautiful. . . . But the mines which formerly worked at top speed are now almost completely inactive."

He goes on to say, furthermore, that unemployment and want reign supreme. The children are undernourished, emaciated, and rejoice if they receive a piece of bread.

The burden of taxes is especially ruinous to the farmers. The land tax has risen by 57 per cent in recent years. Giovanni Sala, a Consul in the fascist militia, declared that the people of the countryside suffered from starvation. Hundreds of thousands of farmers seek work as day laborers.

An examination of about 3,400,000 Italian farm houses showed that 142,000 houses were quite uninhabitable, that 475,000 could be repaired only at great expense and that in general only half of the houses satisfied the most modest pretensions.

The Slovenes and Croats of Venizia Giulia and the South Tyrolese live in

especially wretched conditions. Their schools are closed, their businesses callously robbed, their best and most faithful leaders proscribed. The régime "solves" the problem of nationalities in true fascist style, by force and terror.

The factor of the people is likewise a very serious, perhaps the most serious difficulty of the régime. An impoverished people, a people sucked dry by the fascist vampire, a people whose sense of justice is daily and hourly outraged by the shameless activities of the bosses, by the corruption of those in power, by the orgies of violence and terror. A people whose most elementary rights are trampled underfoot. Such a people is not a dependable support, especially in critical situations. The widespread opposition voiced among the working class and even in bourgeois circles in the critical weeks of the Ethiopian expedition, when the Italian army was achieving no success, is the best proof of the fact that the régime is not firmly based on the masses and that the nation is not ready to follow fascism to the end on the road to disaster.

There is no doubt that, in a big war, in a war against an enemy superior from the military, cultural, political, economic and social standpoint, the opposition, already fermenting in the heart of the Italian people, would intensify and become dangerous to the régime of blood.

Neither the imperialist world war nor the conquest of Ethiopia has solved the fundamental problems of Italian imperialism. The words of Lenin in his article, "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," apply in full measure to Italy today.

"Italian imperialism was named 'imperialism of the paupers' . . . owing to the poverty of Italy and to the desperate misery of the masses of Italian emigrants. . . . Every country which has more colonies, capital, armies, than 'we'

have, deprives 'us' of certain privileges, certain profits or super-profits." *

But it is just this poverty of Italy, its inner weakness, that increases the aggressiveness of Italian imperialism. The Pirelli, Donegani, Volpi, Mussolini-Ciano families are prepared to drive the country to ruin in order to increase their own profits, to satisfy their greed for power, and to maintain their positions. It would be wrong to believe that Italian fascism will collapse automatically, of itself. Italian imperialism with its stench of poverty will shrink from no bloodshed, from no slaughter, to solve its own inner conflicts at the expense of other countries and their peoples, to seize new territories, to make sure of new sources of raw materials and new markets. The endless war agitation carried on in Italy, the education of youth in the spirit of chauvinism and war, the continual speeches in praise of war and open threats addressed to France, show unmistakably that Italy is ready for anything.

It is all the more necessary that the threatened nations should realize that Italian fascism can win advantages from them only if treacherous politicians hurry to its assistance, if English and French high finance pump it full of money, if new regions and concessions are offered to it on a platter. If the nations remain strong, if they help the Italian people in its self-sacrificing struggle against the oppressor, if they are not taken in by the loud speeches of the fascist bullies, but oppose them steadfastly and calmly, then Italian fascism will not be able to realize its plans, and, together with its axis partners, set up its rule over other countries.

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 332-333, International Publishers, New York.

The Working Class and the Struggle for North Schleswig

BY R. MAGNUS

TRAVELING from Hamburg through the district of Holstein one comes to a narrow isthmus which is the beginning of the peninsula of Jutland. Its lower part is called, by the Danes, Sønderjylland (South Jutland) and by the Germans, Schleswig.

"Schleswig is a curious country," wrote Engels to Marx, in 1864, "the east coast is very pretty and rich, the west coast is also rich, but in the middle is heath and waste. The bays are all very beautiful."

This spot with its delightful scenery, surrounded by the Baltic and the North Sea, bordered on the north by the little river Königs-Au and on the south by the Eider, has for years been the frontier land between Denmark and Germany. Its position makes it a natural bridge between the Scandinavian and the German peoples. Until 1864, Sønderjylland-Schleswig was a part of the state of Denmark with the Eider as its southern frontier. From 1864 to 1920 it was under Prussian rule and the frontier was the Königs-Au. In 1920, as a result of a plebiscite, it was divided into roughly equal portions and North Schleswig was reunited with Denmark. The frontier, corresponding almost exactly with the language division, has run since that time north of the Flensburg fjord and the Island of Sylt.

Schleswig, moreover, although divided, was the bridge of a cultural, peaceful, neighborly existence between two nations. When fascism came to power in

Germany, the frontier between language and country became the frontier between bourgeois culture and fascist barbarism. In April, 1933, resounded the threat: "German National-Socialism will seize North Schleswig like a stroke of lightning." The occupation of North Schleswig is one point in the German fascist program of imperialist robbery. At the bridge of idyllic North Schleswig, German fascism stands ready to march into Denmark. This bridge has become a battlefield.

Hitler gave the signal for non-recognition of the existing German-Danish border in *Mein Kampf*, when he described the frontier as one of Germany's "bleeding, unhealed wounds." "With the erasure of Germany's signature under the Versailles Treaty," runs a fascist pamphlet reproducing the official German attitude, "Denmark's ownership of North Schleswig has been conclusively deprived of all legal foundation." (Willi Walter Puls, *North Schleswig*, Leipzig, 1937.)

But the return of North Schleswig to Denmark was only the reparation of an act of force by Prussia in 1864. The reunion with Denmark was based on the result of a plebiscite and took all possible account of the profession of their nationality voiced by the population of North Schleswig. But that is just what German fascism will not recognize.

"Self-determination is a liberal-Marxist deception," wrote the fascist *North Schleswig Newspaper*. "The nation has no right to vote as to whether it wants

to be Danish or German. No, descent and blood make one either one thing or the other."

The German fascists, who, when it suits them, appeal with impudent demagogic to the right of self-determination, betrayed their real intentions with these words.

NORTH SCHLESWIG IS DANISH

"I am certain," wrote Engels in 1864, "that in Jutland as in Schleswig the Danish settlement dates from the seventh or eighth century. The present Jutland dialect is proof by itself."

In 811 the Eider was the frontier of the empire of Charlemagne and in 1027 the Emperor Conrad II, by treaty with the Kings of Denmark, recognized this as the imperial frontier. Over the "Holstein Gate" at Rendsburg, until 1806, was hewn the inscription *Eidora Romani Terminus Imperii*. (The Eider is the frontier of the Roman Empire.) Sönderjylland and Holstein always belonged to the kingdom of Denmark. In the thirteenth century the Danish kings gave Sönderjylland to their sons as a duchy and the successors of these dukes made many connections with German Holstein, south of the Eider. The Counts of Holstein ruled for a time in Sönderjylland. But even the German emperor Sigismund, whose faithlessness in the struggle against the Czechs is a foretaste of present day fascists, in 1424, after he had been conclusively defeated by the Czechs, gave the judgment that: "the whole of Sönderjylland always belonged to Denmark, still does, and shall continue to belong to Denmark in the future, so that the Counts of Holstein neither had nor have any kind of right or claim to this country."

Later Danish kings of German ancestry, the Oldenburg dynasty, encouraged the northward spread of the German language, which had begun with the Reformation. German was the official language at the Danish court and in many departments of the government. In Schleswig the population was even requested to change its language from

Danish to "Platt" or Low German. It was considered more "refined" to be German. The Danish mother-tongue of the South Jutes was degraded to the level of "common" talk. Although a certain language change was carried out in Schleswig in this manner, nevertheless the Danish origin of the population of the whole of Schleswig has remained unshaken until the present day.

Claus Eskildsen, author of an enlightening book, *Danish Border Lore*, says:

"The whole of Sönderjylland, with the exception of the Frisian district of the west coast, is just as much pure Danish soil as any other district of Denmark. The population today is still of the Danish race. It speaks the Danish tongue, its whole mental attitude, shown in its buildings, in the details of daily life, in legends, lore, customs and beliefs is just as much Danish as any other part of Denmark. Ever since there was a Danish nation and a Danish state, Sönderjylland belonged to Denmark until Bismarck said *D mött wi hebben* ('We must have that!')

THE FOREIGN RULE OF PRUSSIA OVER NORTH SCHLESWIG

One of the effects of the February Revolution and the March struggles of 1848, in Germany, was the development of the Schleswig-Holstein movement, formed with the object of separating the two duchies from Denmark. The movement met with the resistance of the Danish nationalist policy which at that time had replaced Germanism in Denmark and aimed at the complete union of the duchies with Denmark. Neither the policy of the Danish Cabinet, which stubbornly held on to the Eider frontier, nor the "incorrigible Schleswig-Holstein humbugs" (Marx, in his letter of December 22, 1863), took any account of the real situation and the wishes of the population of Schleswig.

Engels, who had made a thorough study of the question, came to the conclusion based on the principles of nationality and language, that Schleswig would have to be separated. On December 3, 1863, he

wrote to Marx about this, among other things, saying that he had "labored through the whole question" and arrived at the conclusion "that the Schleswig-Holstein theory is stupid nonsense." In Point 5 of his letter he says that: "The German right to Schleswig is confined to the *South* which is German by nationality and its own free will. Thus Schleswig must be divided."

On December 4 Marx replied:

"I agree with you entirely with respect to the 'sea-surrounded,'" and added "Only we must not irritate the Danes. They must see that there is nothing more to their own advantage than the exclusion of the German elements." (Marx refers here to the German part of the population of Schleswig.)

On November 13, 1863, however, the Danish Government had proclaimed a common Constitution for Denmark and Schleswig. When the "Eider Danish" Cabinet rejected the Prussian and Austrian demand for the abolition of this Constitution, this gave Bismarck the *casus belli* he wished for.

In April, 1864, the Danish army was defeated in the fortifications at Düppel. The Prussian and Austrian troops occupied the whole of Jutland and pressed on towards the Danish Islands. Volunteers hurried from Sweden and, especially, from Norway, to fight on Denmark's side against Bismarck's war of conquest. On October 30, 1864, Schleswig and Holstein were ceded to Prussia and Austria in the Peace of Vienna.

About this time, Engels went to Schleswig in order to study the situation again on the spot, and visited Düppel, Flensburg and Sönderburg. On November 2, 1864, Engels, who had a good command of Danish, wrote to Marx about his impressions of the population.

"The people are definitely one of the biggest and heaviest of human types on the earth. . . . These chaps are great fanatics and I like them for that reason. Bismarck was indeed very much mistaken in thinking he could overcome this kind of people in his way. . . . 'Have we to let

ourselves be defeated by these Prussian bureaucrats?' . . . that was the sort of thing they were saying.

"Matters of language and nationality are very peculiar. In Flensburg . . . all the children, playing around the harbor in groups, spoke Low German [*'Platt,' the dialect peculiar to Hamburg and its surroundings*]. Against that, north of Flensburg the speech is Danish, that is the 'Low' Danish dialect of which I understood hardly a word—an everyday dialect." Engels concluded with the remark that "later on something would have to be ceded to the Scandinavians."

Prussia and Austria were soon at war over the possession of the duchies and in the Peace of Prague of August 23, 1866, Austria had to renounce her claims with respect to Schleswig-Holstein. But nevertheless, Article 5 of this Peace Treaty contains the provision that in North Schleswig a free plebiscite of the population should decide whether this district should belong to Prussia or Denmark. That this decision would have gone unmistakably against Prussia was shown by the elections on February 12, 1867, at which 22,469 (81.4 per cent) Danish and 5,380 (18.6 per cent) German votes were cast. Therefore Prussia did not keep to the provision of the Prague Peace Treaty and, by agreement with Austria on April 13, 1878, abolished it.

In his article "On German and Non-German Chauvinism" (printed on May 31, 1916, in *Voprossy Strakhovaniya* No. 5), Lenin described clearly the situation which had then arisen.

"Let us consider the Danes, for example. Like all other 'Great Powers' Prussia, at the annexation, took possession also of a district with Danish population. The violation of the rights of these people was so open that when the Austrian 'rights' to Schleswig were ceded to Prussia by the Peace of Prague of August 23-30, 1866, it was laid down in the Peace Treaty that the population of the northern districts of Schleswig should be asked in a free plebiscite whether they wished to be united with Denmark, and, if the answer were in the

affirmative, that they should be so united with Denmark. Prussia did not fulfil this and in 1878 set aside the vote which was highly 'inconvenient' for Prussia.

"Friedrich Engels, who did not ignore the chauvinism of the Great Powers, clearly pointed out this injury to the rights of a small nation by Prussia."

At the same time it denied the right of self-determination to the Danish population of North Schleswig, the German government decreed that half of all school lessons in North Schleswig should be conducted in German. In 1888 all teaching in Danish in North Schleswig was forbidden. The people of North Schleswig regarded the 56 years of Prussian rule from 1864 to 1920 as the rule of foreigners. During this time they carried on a determined struggle for their Danish heritage and stood their ground. H. P. Hansen, spokesman for the Danes of North Schleswig in the German Reichstag, was always supported by Liebknecht and Bebel in his stand for the national and cultural interests of the Danish population against the policy of Germanization.

After the Great War, the population of North Schleswig for the first time in history had the chance of deciding their nationality for themselves. It was then shown how correctly Marx and Engels had judged the situation. The frontier drawn in 1920, according to the plebiscite, ran where Engels had already suggested it in 1864—to the north of Flensburg.

THE REUNION OF NORTH SCHLESWIG WITH DENMARK AND THE QUESTION OF THE GERMAN MINORITY

On June 15, 1920, North Schleswig, together with the islands of Alsen and Röm, was reunited to Denmark. This was a district of 3,993 square kilometers. (For the sake of comparison, the Memel district covers 2,657 square kilometers.) On both sides of the frontier remained national minorities, very insignificant as far as numbers were concerned. In the plebiscite of February 10, 1920, 75,431 votes were cast for Denmark and 25,329 for Germany. On March 14, 1920, 12,793

votes in the district south of Flensburg were cast for Denmark and 51,820 for Germany. It must here be noted that a considerable portion of the German votes were cast, not by South Jutes but by Reich Germans living in North Schleswig—members of garrisons, of the police, Civil Service, pensioners, etc.

The German minority in North Schleswig is of a singular character. A few thousand workers belong to it but for the most part it consists of well-to-do small-holders, independent craftsmen and tradesmen. Their total is at most 28,000 people, that is, about 15 per cent of the 185,000 inhabitants of North Schleswig, and not even 1 per cent of the total population of Denmark (3,750,000). About 20,000 of these Germans nevertheless use Danish as their everyday language and in speech, surnames, customs and personal peculiarities they differ in no way from the Danes. For this reason they are called in North Schleswig the "German-minded."

In all general elections since 1920 the German lists have totalled from 7,500 to 10,500 votes, that is, 13.3 per cent to 15.6 per cent respectively of the total votes in North Schleswig. They reached their highest gross vote in 1935 with 12,621 votes, which nevertheless was only 15.4 per cent of all votes in North Schleswig and 8 per cent of the total votes in Denmark. At the local elections in 1937 there were 15.8 per cent German votes. Out of the 122 parishes in North Schleswig there are only two small parishes, Ubjaerg and Höjerland, which together have 1,500 inhabitants in which there is a German majority. Taking the 15 parishes of the narrowest frontier district, the center of which is not more than 10 kilometers from the border, one still finds a solid Danish majority of 7,966 (69.4 per cent) against 3,513 (30.6 per cent) of German votes.

In 1936, out of 25,136 school children in North Schleswig, 3,736, that is, 14.9 per cent, were taught in German. At the present time, out of 24,555 school children, 3,426 are taught in German, that is, 13.95 per cent. The average proportion of the "German-minded" in the popu-

lation of North Schleswig is expressed in these figures, as in the election figures. Yet this proportion is decreasing. The church statistics show that the proportion of children baptized according to German rites remains far behind the corresponding vote-percentage in the separate places, and the number of burials carried out according to German rites far exceeds it.

The "German-minded" in North Schleswig possess without any restriction all common rights of the other citizens of the Danish states. There is a special accommodation of the Danish Election Laws with respect to the constituencies of North Schleswig which ensures them a German Mandate in the Danish Parliament with a smaller total of votes than is otherwise required for a Danish Mandate. There are German representatives in the town and parish councils to correspond to the German votes in the local elections. The German minority has complete freedom to organize and to form societies.

The Danish state is generous in the establishment of German schools. If 20 per cent of the voters of a school district, representing ten children, desire it, German instruction is organized for these ten. This is also the case if a smaller number of voters representing 24 children apply for it. Against 313 Danish schools there are 32 German schools completely maintained by the Danish state and 56 German private schools which receive a grant from the Danish state.

This complete freedom of political, cultural and language activity of the German minority in North Schleswig stands in complete contrast to the national suppression of the Danish minority in South Schleswig (about 13,000 people) and their persecution by German fascism.

FASCISM THREATENS NORTH SCHLESWIG

The German minority in North Schleswig would never have used their situation as the basis of a demand to be united with Germany. But their existence is a pretext for the German fascists to make this demand. Systematic undermining

was intended to make North Schleswig ripe for fascism. One method was the school struggle which led to a disproportionately large number of German schools. In every possible way, by granting economic subsidies and loans, the German fascists endeavor to bring children under the influence of German schools. Although new German schools have been set up in recent years, the total number of children attending them has decreased.

Another method is the struggle for land. This is directed by the Vogelsang Trust which with German money buys mortgages on small holdings and farms. In this way the company tries to get the land into German hands, to serve as a reason for frontier revision at a suitable moment. The company owns about eighty holdings and holds mortgages on 600 to 700 farms, principally in the frontier district. But nothing came of the "lightning" fascization.

In the inner confusion of the numerous fascist small groups and parties, continually fighting among themselves, in their frequent changes of leadership one senses not only the counter effect of the resistance of the Danish population, but also that of the resistance of the German minority itself against the advances of German fascist influence.

After the occupation of Austria this offensive became extraordinarily acute. In celebrations the memory of 1864 when Prussian and Austrian troops had occupied the greater part of Denmark was invoked. Veterinary surgeon Möller, leader of the North Schleswig fascists, proclaimed: "In six months, North Schleswig will belong to the Third Reich." In April, 1938, at a "Party Congress" he announced the slogan "The swastika as far as the Königs-Au." Terrorism was used to bring the German minority "into line." The German-printed newspaper *Nordschleswigsche Zeitung* received an openly fascist editorial staff and the Vogelsang Bank became the official agency of the Reichsbank. The Fascist Party was trained on the German pattern. The direction of agitation and propaganda is directly under the control of

the Schleswig-Holstein district organization of the Nazi Party in Kiel. Stehr, Fascist Director of Propaganda, who was commandeered to direct the work in North Schleswig, declared recently:

"The Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein was made the North Mark District of the Greater German Reich by National-Socialism and we in North Schleswig belong to this district, even if a frontier separates us. North Schleswig is a section of the German front."

Hitler Germany treats North Schleswig as an irredentist district, as appears from an official declaration of Councilor Berndt of the Fascist Propaganda Ministry. The North Schleswig fascists co-operate with the Danish fascists, support their spying organizations which work under instructions from the Gestapo, and themselves carry on extensive spying activity. North Schleswig has become the playground of treasonable fascist elements. With the support of S.A. gangs from Flensburg a campaign of terrorizing meetings is carried on against all other parties. In official declarations the fascist leaders refuse obedience to the Danish Constitution and recognize for themselves only National-Socialist laws.

After the occupation of the Sudeten region the fascists' attacks increased in intensity. Exceeding the original demand for the inclusion of North Schleswig in the German Customs area, a "Congress of Officials" on October 9, 1938, issued a kind of "Carlsbad Program" which contained the following demands:

1. Complete muzzling of the Danish press and all Danish organizations in North Schleswig and punishment of any criticism of Hitler Germany.

2. Complete freedom in the "Land Fight" for the Germans, and cessation of all Danish defensive measures.

3. Autonomy of German schools.

4. Granting of Danish citizenship en masse to all the Reich Germans ordered into North Schleswig by the fascists.

These demands were made as "from a part of the whole German nation and in its name." The frontier itself was expressly not recognized. Möller declared

that no recognition of the Danish-German frontier was to be read into Hitler's declarations that he had no more territorial claims in Europe, since in this matter there had not yet been any negotiations between Copenhagen and Berlin.

The Danish government has up till now allowed the greatest latitude to the provocative behavior of the fascists in North Schleswig. Breaches of the ban on uniforms have gone unpunished. Sentences for damage to Danish farms by German fascists have been quashed by higher courts. In other respects they have been very accommodating to the fascist demands. In the matter of schools, further rights have been granted to the German minority, for example, the setting up of special German school councils, parents' councils and school committees in the German schools. Even Pastor Schmidt, the representative of the German minority in Parliament, was forced to admit that, with the new school law, "the rights of our national group in our own cultural matters have been recognized and our wishes with respect to schools substantially fulfilled."

What is worse is that the Danish government systematically says nothing to the Danish people about the really threatening situation in the frontier district. For years the government press has said nothing about the North Schleswig question. When the liberal cultural "Kulturmäpken" society, at the end of 1937, published an account of Sønderjylland which caused some sensation, the whole of the Danish bourgeois and Social-Democratic press kept silent about it at the government's order. The same fate attended the publications of the Norwegian journalist Johan Vogt concerning German influence in Denmark and Sønderjylland.

In the previous year when the military occupations by Hitler fascism caused great concern among the population of North Schleswig over the question, "Will North Schleswig be the next among the spoils?" the Social-Democratic Premier, Stauning, deplored "the nervousness which causes people to discuss whether

Denmark can expect the same fate as Austria."

In their New Year's speeches too, Stauning and the Foreign Minister Munch tried to hush up the seriousness of the situation. They maintained, in contradiction to the facts, that "there is no frontier question and no frontier struggle."

In the meantime, the danger is that the Danish government, through its trade policy with Germany and its policy of neutrality to the fascist aggressor, will bring Denmark into ever increasing dependence on Germany. That would allow German fascism further to increase its pressure on Denmark. Hitler Germany can at any moment raise the question of the union of North Schleswig with Germany. The danger is real enough. Hitler fascism is concerned with more than the narrow strip of land. Hitler Germany wants the whole of Denmark to place its great agricultural and industrial production, the whole of Danish territory and its water communications, in the service of fascist war preparations and to force Denmark to serve Germany as a vassal state. The weaker Danish resistance in North Schleswig, the greater is the danger that Hitler Germany will appropriate this region; the weaker the resistance to fascist aggression in Denmark, the greater the peril that Hitler fascism will take possession of the whole of Jutland and other strategically and economically important parts of the country.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE DEFENSE OF NORTH SCHLESWIG AND OF DANISH INDEPENDENCE

Hitherto, the struggle for national defense in North Schleswig has been carried on by a series of national and cultural organizations, such as the Frontier Union, with 80,000 members throughout Denmark, the School Union, the Language Union, the National Defense Legion (the Danish institution in the "Land Struggle" against the Vogelsang Bank), the Young Frontier Defense Legion and others. These organizations and also the newspaper *Hejmdal*, the

mouthpiece of the population of North Schleswig, arose during the Prussian period and as defense organs against fascist advances. The special feature of the situation is that the population of North Schleswig, who in the course of history have stood their ground against the un-Danish policy of earlier rulers of Denmark as well as against national suppression by the Prussians, now, as the most imperilled section of the Danish nation, is exposed to the fascist onslaught. Thus a section of the Danish reactionary bourgeoisie is stabbing the people of North Schleswig in the back. The pro-fascist movement of the big farmers and the conservatives supports German agitation and betrays the interests of the people of North Schleswig. In addition to this there is the fact that not only did the Prussians treat North Schleswig as a colony and consciously prevent the development of industry, but that North Schleswig was also left in the lurch by "national" Danish capital, so that in this district today there is as good as no industry at all. Unemployment in North Schleswig is therefore higher than in the rest of Denmark, a fact which helps to foster fascist demagogery. The population of North Schleswig cannot depend on the support of the reactionary Danish bourgeoisie, the whole attitude of which is conditioned by considerations of trade and profit and which is also prepared, at the given moment, to hazard North Schleswig.

The struggle for the national and social interests of the population of North Schleswig coincides with the class interests of the Danish working class and in fact can only be carried on as an anti-fascist struggle. The task of the Danish working class is to take the lead in this struggle. Hitherto, Danish Social-Democracy has not carried on any struggle for the defense of North Schleswig. Only the local organizations of the working class in North Schleswig have shown a certain activity. This began at the Tinglev Conference on April 17, 1933, when three hundred delegates of the North Schleswig trade unions decided to carry on the

fight against fascism with all possible means at their disposal.

Last year, the working committee which arose out of this movement was reorganized; a "National Organization of the Workers Movement of South Jutland" was created. In recent years, the trade unions, the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties in the area have strengthened their ranks.

The Communist Party of Denmark has called on all workers' organizations and other democratic organizations in the country to take an active part in the anti-fascist struggle in North Schleswig. In North Schleswig the Party strives for a united front of the working class. In order effectively to concentrate all forces against the agents of Hitler fascism in the coming elections, it decided to refrain from publishing its own lists of candidates and to mobilize the whole of the working class to support the Social-Democratic candidates who stand for the defense of North Schleswig. The Communist Party demands the industrial development of North Schleswig, the improvement of communications and harbors and support for agriculture, fisheries and handicrafts.

But the activity of the Danish working class hitherto has been all too restricted. With the Danish government's policy of retreat before Hitler Germany has been bound up the pressure of Stauning's party on the trade unions to hold back in the struggle which is now being waged in North Schleswig and to confine themselves to matters of culture, etc. If the Danish workers' organizations, especially the trade unions which number half a million members, stand together, united and determined, they can force the government to pursue a policy of defending the North Schleswig frontier and the independence of the whole country. In this they can count on the support of the great majority of the Danish people. North Schleswig is the gateway of the attack of German fascism on Denmark and there the beginning must be made to bar the way to fascism. The great demonstrations which took place throughout Denmark on this year's anniversary of

the North Schleswig plebiscite show that the conditions for such a struggle are favorable.

THE STRUGGLE FOR NORTH SCHLESWIG IS A SCANDINAVIAN QUESTION

Public attention in Scandinavia is being directed more and more strongly towards the North Schleswig question. The Danish-German frontier is rightly regarded as the southern frontier of the whole of Scandinavia. Even the former Norwegian Premier, Mowinckel, who is by no means "Left," declared that "The frontier, which now separates Denmark from Germany, has been drawn as justly as possible." Thus, throughout Scandinavia, voices have been raised in favor of a guarantee of the inviolability of this frontier and its defense by all Scandinavian states in concert. This touches German fascism in a sensitive spot. The *National Zeitung* of Essen raged furiously against the idea that the Scandinavian states should thus prepare to resist the fascist aggression threatening the whole of Scandinavia. The frontier was a matter concerning Germany and Denmark, wrote Goering's paper. This threat by the Essen *National Zeitung* received from the Swedish paper *Dala-Democraten* an appropriate answer which summed up the attitude of Scandinavian workers and Scandinavian peoples as follows:

"For us in Sweden and Norway, it cannot be a matter of indifference as to where Denmark's southern frontier is drawn. A threat against this southern frontier, which would be an open breach of the right of self-determination of peoples, would be a harmful threat to the whole North. Hitler and his mental defectives too must understand that the peoples of the North are sensitive to that threat against the northern community such as is represented by Sönderjylland and the Southern Jutes. They must therefore understand that we in the North do not and cannot remain indifferent to what happens in the country next door to us. We permit ourselves to look on Sönderjylland as the frontier guard of the whole North against the South, and the problems of Sönderjylland as the

problems of the whole North. In what manner we in the North, outside Denmark, will show our solidarity with our national brothers and blood-relations in Sønderjylland, time itself will decide."

It is therefore with justice that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Denmark, in its summons to the Danish working class and the Danish people to the struggle against fascist aggression, says:

"If we fight for the preservation of our independence, then not only will Den-

mark be assured of the sympathy of the peace-loving nations of the whole world, but also, as surely as Denmark's southern frontier is the southern frontier of the North, and as the other Scandinavian peoples are inspired by the same will for freedom and defense as we are, can we count on their active support if we are attacked.

"In Sweden and Norway, Iceland and Finland we have class comrades, friends of like mind, blood-relations and, if necessary, brothers in arms; but only a Danish nation that helps itself can expect such support!"

"It is a distinguishing feature of the new imperialist war that it has not yet become universal, a world war. The war is being waged by aggressor states, which in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.

"Thus we are witnessing an open redivision of the world and spheres of influence at the expense of the non-aggressive states, without the least attempt at resistance, and even with a certain amount of connivance, on the part of the latter.

"Incredible, but true."— Joseph Stalin, *From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union*, pp. 11-12.

Lenin and the Unity of the Working Class

BY P. DENGEL

LENINISM, the theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution, developed, as one of its most important principles, the thesis that the proletarian revolution can only be victorious if the revolutionary vanguard of the working class has won over the majority of the proletariat and can count on the support or on the benevolent neutrality of the whole class. In "Left-Wing" Communism: an Infantile Disorder," Lenin said:

"To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard, or at least of benevolent neutrality toward it and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would not merely be folly, but a crime."*

Lenin, therefore, waged a tireless struggle for the unity of the working class.

In his article "On the Unity of the Workers," written in December, 1913, he says:

"Unity is essential for the working class. . . . And this unity is infinitely dear, infinitely important, to the working class. Divided the workers are nothing, united they are everything."**

Lenin fought for the unity of the working class in order to make it capable, in alliance with the peasantry, of overthrowing tsarism, of sweeping away the

power of landlords and capitalists, setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat and bringing about the victorious building of socialism. In order to be equal to this task, the working class needs revolutionary experience and revolutionary tempering. Therefore Lenin always fought for fundamental revolutionary unity and against "unity" with all varieties of opportunism, against unity without concrete revolutionary content.

LENIN'S STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1905-1906

At the beginning of the Revolution of 1905 there were already in existence in the Russian Social-Democratic Party two distinct ideas, two tactics—Bolshevik and Menshevik. As a result of the opportunism and splitting tactics of the Mensheviks in 1905, the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party was already split into two factions. The split was not yet complete and the two factions were not yet officially two parties, but in practice they were very much like it.

But the deep and irreconcilable differences of opinion existing between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the matter of organization and tactics did not prevent the Bolsheviks, in the great struggle of the first Russian Revolution, from acting in strikes, demonstrations and armed risings, together with the workers who were still under the influence of the Mensheviks. This was in order to convince the workers, in the course of the struggle and on the basis of their own experience, of the correctness of the slogans and tactics of the Bolsheviks, and to

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 136, International Publishers, New York.

** V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVII, p. 122, Russian ed.

draw the waverers onto the side of the Bolsheviks.

In his article "The Reorganization of the Party," Lenin writes that the great majority of the Social-Democratic workers were very much concerned by the split and demanded unity, and that it was not at all surprising that the workers threatened "with a fist from below" in order to secure unity by force. Pointing out that the working class forms the overwhelming majority of all Social-Democratic organizations, Lenin said:

"Hence, it is now possible not only to *urge* unity, not only to *promise* to unite, but to unite in reality, by the majority of organized workers in both factions simply deciding to do so."*

Lenin and the Bolsheviks were for unity in 1905 because they were convinced that the split in the great rising revolutionary movement could and must be overcome. In this they based themselves on the will to unity of the mass of the workers, they trusted in the rapid development of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers on the basis of the experience and struggles which would convince them of the correctness of the Bolsheviks' slogans and tactics.

In order to lead this alliance further, to the *actual unity* of the workers' movement, differences were not to be concealed nor minimized, the ranks of the Bolsheviks themselves were to stand iron-firm. Therefore Lenin fought against conciliation in their own ranks and any attempt to pass lightly over the differences with the Mensheviks.

The conference at Tammerfors (Finland) in December, 1905, at which Lenin and Stalin met for the first time, decided to take all the steps necessary to restore the unity of the Party. The workers, richer by the experiences of the December rising, demanded unity also within the Party. The Bolsheviks proposed to the Mensheviks that a Unity Conference be called. But Lenin demanded that the

Bolsheviks come to this conference with their own platform, so that the workers might clearly see what the position of the Bolsheviks was and on what basis unification was being effected.

Thus when the Unity Conference took place in April, 1906, in Stockholm, it turned out that the Mensheviks were in a majority. The conference made decisions which did not rise to the level of the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution. It adopted the Menshevik program and chose a Central Committee composed of Mensheviks. The Mensheviks openly opposed the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution.

"Only formal unity was effected at this Congress. In reality, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks retained their own views and their own independent organizations."*

In the discussions which took place in the Social-Democratic organization after the Stockholm Conference, the great majority of the workers decided in favor of the Bolshevik standpoint. In the revolutionary struggle of 1906 more and more workers became convinced of the correctness of the Bolshevik tactics and freed themselves from the Menshevik leadership, which was not capable of directing the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

The Bolsheviks demanded the calling of a new Party congress. In May, 1907, the Fifth Party Congress took place in London. This congress was a great victory for the Bolsheviks in the working class movement, for here practical unity of the Party was achieved. In the article "Notes of a Delegate," Comrade Stalin characterizes the results of the Fifth Party Congress in the following way:

"The actual unification of the advanced workers of all Russia into a single all-Russian party under the banner of *revolutionary Social-Democracy*—that is the significance of the London Congress, and that is its general character."**

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol III, p. 465, International Publishers, New York.

** Quoted in *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*, p. 91.

LENIN'S FIGHT FOR UNITY IN 1912-14

In the difficult years of reaction, when tsarism had endeavored, with the help of terror and the gallows, to root out the revolutionary workers' movement, the struggle between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was not ended in spite of the decisions of the Fifth Party Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. In these years of reaction, the Bolsheviks carried on a struggle on two fronts; against the Liquidators, those agents of the liberal bourgeoisie in the Party and against the Otzovists, those "inverted Liquidators." (*History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, p. 132.)

In the period of the new advance of the revolutionary movement in Russia, in the years 1912-14, the Bolshevik path finally separated from that of the Mensheviks.

At the Prague Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in January, 1912, conclusions were drawn from all previous struggles of the Bolsheviks against opportunism, and the Mensheviks were excluded from the Party. The Prague Congress united the Bolshevik organizations into a single Bolshevik Party. It gave itself definite form, once and for all, as the class party of the proletariat, the new kind of Party, suffering no opportunism in its ranks, a Party which is ideologically united and whose policy is under unified centralized direction. The Bolshevik Party knew how to organize illegal and legal work successfully and how to lead the working class.

In these years the Trotskyite traitors tried to masquerade as "uniters" of the workers' movement. Lenin said that Trotsky was more shameful and harmful than the avowed Liquidators, because he tried to deceive the workers by pretending to stand outside the opposition faction. Trotsky supported completely the Menshevik liquidators. Lenin waged an uncompromising and decisive struggle against the Trotskyites and other compromisers who were supported by the opportunist leaders of the Second International.

He said:

"With liberal-labor politicians, with people who disorganize the workers' movement and violate the will of the majority, there can be no unity, neither federative nor any other kind of unity. What there can and must be is unity of all consistent Marxists, of all fighters for the totality of Marxism and for unrestricted slogans, independent of the Liquidators and excluding them."*

In the period of the sharpest struggle against the Liquidators, Lenin and the Bolsheviks tried to draw the wavering Social-Democrats over to their side. Not all Mensheviks were Liquidators. The so-called "Pro-Party Mensheviks," with Plekhanov at their head, opposed not only the Liquidators but also Trotsky's so-called August Bloc. Therefore the Bolsheviks made a temporary alliance with the "Pro-Party Mensheviks" against the elements opposed to the Party. This peculiar united front with the Plekhanov group helped the Bolsheviks to push the Liquidators out of the workers' movement, especially out of those legal organizations that still existed, and to capture a series of Menshevik workers' organizations.

In all mass campaigns of the working class, the Bolsheviks achieved unity with the Menshevik workers' organizations (e.g., at the elections for the Fourth State Duma in St. Petersburg).

At the outbreak of the Great War the Second International collapsed. Actually it disintegrated into single social-chauvinist parties which fought each other. The leaders of the parties of the Second International split the working class, destroyed the international unity of the workers and betrayed their solemn undertaking made a few years before.

At the end of 1915, Lenin, in his article "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International," appealed to the Basle Manifesto which had been

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XII, p. 389, Russian ed.

adopted by the International Congress of the Second International in 1912. In this manifesto it was stated that the workers of all countries considered it a crime to shoot each other down for the sake of higher profits for the capitalists.

Lenin wrote:

"The Basle Manifesto proves in an incontestable way the absolute *betrayal* of socialism by the Socialists who voted for military appropriations, who entered cabinets, who recognized the defense of the fatherland in 1914-15! This betrayal is undeniable. Only hypocrites can deny it."*

At that moment, when opportunism was revealed in its completest form as social-chauvinism, and when all parties with the exception of the Bolsheviks went over to the imperialists, Lenin boldly raised the banner of international workers' unity.

"But the greater the efforts of the governments and the bourgeoisie of all countries to disunite the workers and to pit them one against the other, the more ferociously they use for this lofty purpose a system of martial law and military censorship . . . the more urgent is the duty of the class-conscious proletariat to defend its class solidarity, its internationalism, its socialist convictions against the orgy of chauvinism of the 'patriotic' bourgeois cliques of all countries."**

The adoption by Lenin of this clear attitude, furthering real unity of the working class, was attacked by all kinds of opportunists.

Just as in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism there could be no real unity with those who denied the independent leading role of the working class in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, so, during the Great War, unity was impossible with those who joined forces with imperialism and prevented the workers from struggling. A real unity of the workers was possible only on a basis of determined and ruthless strug-

gle against imperialism and against the pace-makers of imperialist influence inside the workers' movement.

Achievement of unity of the working class—not false, superficial and formal, but real unity—is a thing for which the class-conscious section of the working class must stubbornly fight. Lenin expressed this with extraordinary precision and clarity in his article "On Unity" (June, 1914). He wrote:

"Unity is necessary for the workers. And it is most necessary of all to understand that no one outside the workers themselves will 'grant' them unity, no one is in a position to help them to their unity. One cannot 'promise' unity—that would be empty boasting, self-deception; unity cannot be 'created' by an 'understanding' of little intellectual groups—that is a most miserable, naive and gross error.

"Unity must be *fought for*, and only the workers themselves, the class-conscious workers themselves, are in a position to achieve this—by persistent stubborn work"

After the collapse of the Second International, the Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership became the organizer of a new international workers' unity. Lenin and the Bolsheviks developed widespread work in propaganda and organization in order to lay the foundation for a new International, free from opportunism. The difficulties of this task were enormous. The Zimmerwald Conference brought no ideological clarity into the ranks of the Socialists. Unity was not achieved at this conference. Even the "Zimmerwald Left," grouped around Lenin, was not united. But Lenin and the Bolsheviks did not falter. They trusted in inevitable revolutionary development, they trusted in the strength of their example and in the victory of Marxist theory. And they conquered.

THE STRUGGLE OF LENIN AND STALIN IN 1917 FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

After the overthrow of tsardom and in the short period of February to Sep-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 388. International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

tember, 1917, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, won over the majority of the working class in Russia. They united the workers for the struggle for peace, bread and liberty, and for Soviet power.

Step by step the Bolsheviks destroyed petty-bourgeois illusions in the ranks of the working class and overcame the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. They criticized most keenly the policy of class cooperation which they exposed as a bourgeois policy.

In the struggle against the counter-revolutionary cooperation of the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries with the imperialist bourgeoisie and with the landlords, the Bolsheviks fought tirelessly at the same time for the creation of proletarian unity. The Bolsheviks permitted no uncertainty about the program for this unity. They took their stand on renunciation of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, on the creation of an alliance between the working class and the peasants and on the recognition of the Soviets as the organs of the new state's power.

When, in August, 1917, the counter-revolutionaries, led by Kornilov, carried out a putsch against the Provisional Government, the Bolsheviks were the organizers of the united front of all democratic forces against the Kornilov forces, against the White Guards and the bourgeoisie. In his article "The Russian Revolution and Civil War" Lenin wrote:

"A union of the Bolsheviks with the S.-R.'s and Mensheviks against the Cadets, against the bourgeoisie, has not yet been tried; or, to be more precise, such a union has been tried at one front only, for five days only, September 8-13, the time of the Kornilov affair, and this union yielded at that time, . . . a victory over the counter-revolution, such a crushing suppression of the bourgeois, landlords', capitalist, Allied-imperialist and Cadet counter-revolution, that the civil war from that side crumbled to dust. . . ."*

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 237. International Publishers, New York.

The preservation of the republic and of democratic achievements by determined, revolutionary measures was the task of the Bolsheviks in this period.

The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Menshevik leaders, frightened to death by Kornilov's rising, sought the protection of the Bolsheviks, for they knew that only the Bolsheviks were able to mobilize the masses to defeat the Kornilov forces.

While the Bolsheviks mobilized the masses for the struggle against Kornilov they did not for a moment cease their struggle against the Kerensky government. They exposed the Provisional Government in the eyes of the masses, they exposed the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries who by their policy had contributed objectively to the organization of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary conspiracy.

On September 9, 1917, Comrade Stalin published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Rabotschii Put'* a leading article entitled "On the Revolutionary Front," in which he said:

"You want unity of the front with the Bolsheviks? Break with the Kerensky government, support the Soviets in their fight for power—and there will be unity. Why was unity so easily and simply built up in the days of the Kornilov revolt?

"Because at that time it arose not as the result of endless discussions but in the process of direct struggle with the counter-revolution."

Thus the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Stalin, brought into being, in the course of the class struggle, the revolutionary united front.

LENIN, STALIN AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITED FRONT

Lenin, the founder and leader of the Communist International, gave thorough attention in all its aspects to the development and Bolshevizing of real Communist Parties in all countries. Lenin insisted always that Communists remain in close contact with the masses, taking account of the stage of development reached by the masses in all decisions

and actions and raising their political knowledge and consciousness to the level of the revolutionary vanguard. Only in this way is it possible to win over the majority of the working class, for the "pure" proletariat as the "Leftists" conceive of it, does not exist.

"And all this makes it necessary—absolutely necessary—for the vanguard of the proletariat, for its class-conscious section, the Communist Party, to resort to maneuvers and compromises with the various groups of proletarians, with the various parties of the workers and small proprietors. The whole point lies in knowing how to apply these tactics in such a way as to raise and not lower the general level of proletarian class consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and to conquer."*

Lenin shows in one concrete example how Communists must bring about the creation of a united front even under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. In "Left-Wing Communism," Lenin proposed to the English Communists that they:

"...should unite their four . . . parties and groups into a single Communist Party on the basis of the principles of the Third International and of the *obligatory* participation in Parliament."**

Lenin suggested that the Communists propose to the Labor Party leaders a "compromise" or electoral agreement in order to defeat the reactionary bloc of Liberals and Conservatives then in existence and make possible the formation of a Labor government.

In the event of the Labor leaders rejecting this coalition, Lenin suggested that the Communists put forward candidates only in a few constituencies and everywhere urge the principle of voting for Labor candidates against bourgeois candidates.

At the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921, Lenin defended with the utmost keenness and

stubbornness the tactic of the united front, the necessity for which he had laid down in "Left-Wing Communism."

In November, 1920, the Stuttgart organization of the Metal Workers' Union, which was under Communist leadership, adopted a fighting platform for the defense of the interests of workers and peasants. This platform, which was discussed in many trade union meetings, called on the workers to unite in the struggle for higher wages, increase in social funds, provision of work, guaranteed food relief, assistance to peasants to increase agricultural productivity, and for control of production.

In January, 1921, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany addressed an "Open Letter" to the Social-Democrats, to the German Independent Socialist Party and the reformist General Trades Union Alliance. The reformists rejected the offer but the mass of the working class greeted the step taken by the Communist Party of Germany and pressed for united action. This unity was then achieved in some German industrial centers. In his speech at the Third Congress, Lenin said in connection with the "Open Letter":

"But I think it is a shame and a disgrace to hear it said at the congress, after such a long debate, that the 'Open Letter' was opportunistic! . . .

"The 'Open Letter' was an exemplary political step. This is what we say in our theses. And this is what we must absolutely insist upon. It was an exemplary step, for it was the first practical step in the direction of winning over the majority of the working class."*

Clearly following on Lenin's doctrine of the united front tactic were the theses "On the Work of the United Front" which were adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on December 28, 1921, and which later were approved by the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and by the Fourth Congress of the Communist In-

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 116.

** *Ibid.*, p. 128.

* *Ibid.*, p. 281.

ternational. These theses proceed from the principle that the masses have not yet lost their faith in the reformists. The desire of the masses for unity makes it possible for the Communists to combat successfully the sabotage and splitting tactics of the reformist leaders and to bring about unity of the working class for the defense of its own interests. The Communist Parties were called upon to take the initiative in the realization of the workers' united front.

The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, meeting from February 21 to March 4, 1922, agreed to these theses and decided on a resolution on the participation of the Communist International in the International Conference of labor organizations to be called on the suggestion of the so-called "Two-and-a-Half International," the Vienna Workers' Union of Socialist Parties.

The decision of the Enlarged Executive of March 4, 1922, runs as follows:

"It is proposed by the Communist International that at the coming International Conference, only those questions should be dealt with which concern the direct, practical and united action of the working masses.

"The program of the International Conference must be arranged entirely with this end in view, to ensure that *unity of action of the working masses which can at once be achieved in spite of fundamental differences of political opinion*. The workers, who are well aware of the depth of these differences, none the less demand, with the overwhelming majority of the working class, unity in action with respect to the urgent and immediate practical interests of the working class.

"This sound demand of the mass of workers is in complete agreement with the attitude of the Communist International."

This conference took place in Berlin in April, 1922. Directly after the conclusion of the conference, Lenin wrote an article on the results of the negotiations, entitled, "We Have Paid Too Much":

"The representatives of the Second and

Two-and-a-Half Internationals acted as blackmailers in order to extort a political concession from the proletariat for the benefit of the bourgeoisie while refusing, or at any rate making no attempt, to induce the international bourgeoisie to make some concession to the revolutionary proletariat."*

Although the representatives of the Communist International allowed themselves, at this conference, to be deceived by the reactionary leaders of the Second and "Two-and-a-Half" Internationals (the representatives of the Comintern promised that no death sentences should be carried out on the counter-revolutionaries under arrest in Russia and that the Soviet government would permit representatives of all three Internationals to be present at the judicial proceedings) Lenin did not consider it right to tear up the agreements signed between the representatives of the Second, "Two-and-a-Half" and Third Internationals.

At that time the reformists tried in every way to free themselves from mass pressure for the united front. While the representatives of the three Internationals were negotiating in Berlin, the press and organizations of the Second International carried on a systematic campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and discredited the united front.

On May 19, 1922, Lenin's friend and associate, Comrade Stalin, wrote a letter, in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, in which he exposed the reactionary slanders of the Second International against the Soviet Union and showed that these slanders are only an excuse for sabotage of the united front against the capitalist offensive.

This letter says:

"By carrying on such propaganda the Second International wants to justify its stubborn sabotage of the united front and to free itself from the direct charge that it is failing in the elementary duty of a Socialist, to defend the positions of

* *Ibid.*, p. 302.

the working class against capital which grows more insolent every day.

"In view of what has been laid down above the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) declares its readiness—if this will satisfy the Second International—to remove from joint declarations all slogans which concern the defense of Soviet power that knows how to defend itself with the aid of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries. *The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in fact regards unity of the working class in its struggle against capitalist reaction as the main task of the day.*"

The end of Lenin's article "We Have Paid Too Much" is also filled with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Throughout the whole world, the masses of the proletariat are facing the onslaught of capitalism, says Lenin, and he then continues:

"We adopted the united front tactics in order to help these masses to fight against capital, to help them understand the 'cunning mechanism' of the two fronts in the whole of international economics and in the whole of international politics; and we shall pursue these tactics to the end."*

These words of Lenin are a precious heritage to all Communists.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS, AGAINST FASCISM AND WAR

Lenin's work lives and grows strong. It is carried on and developed by his closest collaborator and most faithful pupil, Comrade Stalin. Like Lenin, Stalin helps the Communist Parties to make the strategy and tactics of Bolshevism their own.

The Communist Parties had to overcome severe trials and great drawbacks and difficulties. They learned and developed from the examples of the victorious Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Stalin.

At its Seventh World Congress, the Communist International, through Comrade Dimitroff, raised the banner of proletarian unity in the struggle against fascism.

"... Millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after it has been victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to begin, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but also of successful counter-attack against fascism, against the class enemy.*"*

Faithful to the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Dimitroff said:

"The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of the party or organization to which they belong, is necessary even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution."**

An outstanding example of the correct application of the united front tactic was given by the Communist Party of France which, even before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, had effected the united front, fought successfully for the restoration of trade union unity and prepared the ground for the creation of the anti-fascist people's front.

The working class of the whole world and all progressive humanity regard with reverence and amazement the heroic struggle of the Spanish people. The heroic resistance of the Spanish people would not have been possible without

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front*, pp. 30-31, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the achievement of unity of the Spanish proletariat in the struggle against fascism and reaction in their own country and against fascist intervention.

At the present time it is no longer sufficient for the united front to be achieved in this or that particular country. The struggle against the fascist aggressors and their allies in all countries demands the unity of the proletariat, international unity of action.

This urgently necessary unity of the working class can only be achieved by the initiative, perseverance, determination and daring of the Communists. The conditions necessary for the success of the struggle are given. The working masses of all countries demand with increasing insistence the achievement of unity and determined resistance to fascism.

Recent experiences have shown that the French working class, in spite of certain wavering in the ranks of the Socialist Party, remains true to the united front. The united front movement is growing stronger and stronger in England, in the United States, in the countries of Latin America and even in the fascist and semi-fascist countries.

In the present situation, Lenin's teaching, his legacy to the Communists, of bringing about the united front is especially timely and binding.

Lenin taught that to bring about the unity of the working class requires persistent, careful work for the uniting of class-conscious workers. Lenin taught that unity must be built on the foundation of ideological clarification of main differences, without which unity of action cannot be achieved. Above all, unity

must be achieved in factories, trade unions, etc. An agreement, by itself, is not sufficient. The masses themselves, in their everyday struggle, must put vigorous life into the agreement.

Lenin insisted that in the struggle for unity and for the realization of the united front, freedom of criticism must be preserved in order to utilize to the full the experiences of the vanguard of the workers, increasing the class-consciousness of the whole working class.

Lenin's teaching was that of relentless struggle against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class, against the enemies of unity in the workers' movement, who divide the workers and split their ranks in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin and the Bolsheviks never separated their struggle for working class unity from the struggle to win the semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois, and especially the peasant masses. In its historic struggle, the working class must make an alliance with these masses—that is one of the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's doctrine of the unity of the working class is inseparably bound up with his doctrine of the tasks and ability of the working class, in the epoch of imperialism, to lead every progressive movement in the world. It is because Lenin recognized this lofty historic role of the working class that he fought so relentlessly and stubbornly against opportunism in any form, against bourgeois degeneration of the workers' movement and for the *real unity* of the working class. All experiences have proved the correctness of Lenin's teaching.

Walter Stoecker

TORTURED TO DEATH BY THE FASCISTS

BY W. FLORIN

THE torturers in the German concentration camp of Buchenwald, who carry out the murder of defenseless prisoners with systematic thoroughness, have recorded for their "Fuehrer" a further accomplishment: the Communist, Walter Stoecker, tortured to death at the end of six years' captivity!

Walter Stoecker was one of the bravest and most popular leading functionaries of the Communist Party of Germany. After falling into the hands of the fascist terror-mongers, in 1933, thrown from one concentration camp to the next, subjected to the most horrible physical and moral tortures, he never for a moment failed to represent the strength and goodness, revolutionary loyalty and convictions of the German working class. Hundreds of defenseless prisoners, who threatened to collapse under the cunningly designed terrorization of their tormentors, took fresh heart from the example of Walter Stoecker. His unshakable firmness and indestructible faith in the future victory of the German workers lent the sufferers a new perspective.

The torturers of German fascism, it is true, succeeded in destroying his body, but their bestial force was incapable of assailing the proud, progressive spirit of this true Communist. They can trample Germany under, drown the voice of the German people in blood and bury its culture in the mire of their dictatorship, but from the eyes of indomitable prisoners like Walter Stoecker there shines upon them the day of reckoning that is to come, the stern truth: You will end in

shame, but we will conquer. You can torture us, and still we will conquer. You can kill us, and still we will conquer.

They have tortured him to death, but they cannot prevent his proud spirit, his courageous resistance, and his revolutionary determination, from living on in the German working class.

Millions of workers in Germany knew him, this unremitting fighter against reaction. They heard him in the factories, in the trade unions and in Parliament. He sowed the seeds of zest for struggle, inspiration, energy. He was agitator, propagandist, organizer and leader at the head of the struggling masses. He built for himself—through his loyalty to the working class and the toiling people, his devotion to the cause of humanity, his understanding and his genius for action, and his constant helpfulness towards all friends and working people—a permanent memorial to his name in the German working class.

For thirty years Comrade Walter Stoecker marched in the ranks of the German labor movement. Coming from lower middle-class surroundings, as a young man he joined the young workers in Cologne. When he joined the Social-Democratic Party in 1908 he already counted as a sharp opponent of the opportunists, in view of his activity in the youth movement where he had played an active and leading part. In his trade union, too, which he entered in 1907, he fought the tendency to reformism. In German Left-wing circles in Social-Democracy, the young comrade of Col-

ogne quickly began to be considered a valuable force, and several times, even in the pre-war period, Walter Stoecker was included in private conferences of the Left wing.

During the war Walter Stoecker, together with a large section of the Cologne and Dusseldorf organization, linked up with the Centrist Independent Social-Democratic Party (U.S.P.D.). He played a leading and important part in Rhineland and Westphalia. Walter Stoecker belonged to the leadership of the Left wing in this party, and came into close contact with Ernst Thaelmann, whose struggle for the amalgamation of the U.S.P.D. with the Communist Party of Germany and the Communist International he supported to the hilt.

At the National Congress of the U.S.P.D. in 1919, Stoecker, as the chief speaker for the Left wing, advocated affiliation to the Third International. And when the Centrist leadership of the U.S.P.D. found itself compelled, by mass pressure, to send a delegation to negotiate in Moscow at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Walter Stoecker became a member of this delegation as representative of the Left wing.

On his return to Germany after the Second Congress, following many conversations with Vladimir Lenin, Stoecker, by his report to the Left wing of the U.S.P.D., rendered it invaluable assistance in its struggle for amalgamation with the Communist Party of Germany and affiliation to the Communist International. The Left wing won a majority for amalgamation among the members of the U.S.P.D.

At the Party Conference of the U.S.P.D. in October, 1920, held at Halle, at which time the Left-wing majority went on record for amalgamation with the Communist Party of Germany, Walter Stoecker was the chief spokesman for the Left wing. At the conference—which followed—of unification of the Communist Party (K.P.D.) and the U.S.P.D. Comrade Stoecker was elected to the Central Committee of the K.P.D., of which he was a member up to the time

of his arrest in 1933. From 1920 onwards he represented the Rhineland and Westphalian workers in the German Parliament, and from 1924 to 1931 he was leader of the Communist Parliamentary Group.

In the great actions of the German working class, Comrade Stoecker always stuck bravely to his post. He took part in the ending of the Hohenzollern war regime. In 1918 he belonged to the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in the Rhineland. During the Kapp putsch, while in the leading councils of the U.S.P.D. in Rhineland-Westphalia, he took part in leading the struggles of the Red Guards. In connection with the Rathenau murder, the occupation of the Ruhr, and the Cuno strike, Stoecker was particularly successful in achieving united action by the workers of the Rhine-Ruhr district. Walter Stoecker, during his long period of activity, understood how to combine in a revolutionary way his parliamentary work with mass activity.

By his disclosures, from the tribune of the Reichstag, of the parliamentary jobbery and coalition wrangling of the Social-Democratic Party leaders with the bourgeoisie, and by his exposure of the wire-pullers who controlled the bourgeois parties, Comrade Walter Stoecker taught the German working class impressive lessons about the real class character of so-called bourgeois democracy. He also put good weapons into the hands of the revolutionary workers with which to unmask the veiled dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists.

As an inspired supporter of the Soviet Union Comrade Stoecker did a great deal to convey to the people the truth about the Soviet Union, and to strengthen the ties of the German workers with the country of victorious socialism. As early as 1919-20 Walter Stoecker had made notable achievements in this direction, and later he devoted himself, through the "Friends of the Soviet Union," which he founded and of which he became the international president, almost entirely to popularize the mighty deeds of the Soviet Union.

When the fascists, those bestial reactionaries, attained power in Germany, Comrade Stoecker, who was abroad at that time, hurried back to Germany, back to the scene of struggle, in order to help mobilize the people against fascism. In those decisive days he worked with the utmost fervor to influence the Social-Democratic leaders to enter into a united front with the Communists. His efforts were in vain. While Wels was giving his approval in the Reichstag to Hitler's policy, Walter Stoecker lay, badly maltreated, in the dungeons of the S.A.

After surviving the torture dens of Sonnenburg and Lichtenburg, Walter Stoecker has now been murdered in the Buchenwald concentration camp, where hundreds of steadfast anti-fascists have been tortured to death in recent months. In the concentration camp Walter Stoecker proved that he was an exemplary steadfast Communist, truly devoted to the working class. Because he was a leading Communist he was subjected to special maltreatment. Neither provocation nor terror, nor the length of his confinement, could break him. And

because the fascists could not break this Bolshevik fighter, they murdered him.

The cowardly murder of Walter Stoecker must deeply rouse the conscience of all honest people. The capitulators in every country admonish the workers and working people to "compromise" with German fascism. But how can anyone compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe a gang of robbers and murderers exercises its sway? How can one compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe hundreds of thousands of people languish in fascist concentration camps and are consistently being tortured to death? How can one compromise with the fact that in the middle of Europe a malignant wound has developed, which is growing larger and larger and spreading further and further?

The murder of Walter Stoecker must arouse afresh the conscience of all workers and working people in every country, and provide them with the desire to come out with all their strength to the help of the martyred German people against their oppressors, and to prevent the further extension of German fascism.

The 1940 Elections: How the People Can Win

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Stalin's Book on Lenin

BY M. NAUMOWA

ON THIS, the fifteenth anniversary of Lenin's death, the international proletariat, the working people of the whole world, will turn to the book by J. Stalin, *Lenin*,* which is translated into nearly all languages.

In this fairly brief book, the nature of Leninism, and of Vladimir Lenin as organizer of the Bolshevik Party and leader of the world proletariat, is described with that thoroughness and clarity peculiar to Stalin. The personality of the brilliant theorist, leader, strategist and tactician of the proletarian revolution is drawn with the utmost affection.

In his book, *Lenin*, Comrade Stalin emphatically directs our attention to the living Marxist-Leninist theory which is so closely related to revolutionary practice. In his book, Comrade Stalin emphasizes the active revolutionary character of Marxism:

"There are two groups of Marxists. Both are working under the flag of Marxism, consider themselves 'genuine Marxists.' Nevertheless, they are far from being identical. More than that. A complete gulf divides them, for their respective methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other." (P. 5.)

The first group, Comrade Stalin says, acknowledges Marxism only superficially; it does not wish to penetrate the essence of Marxism, nor to apply it in action, but transforms Marxism into dead formulas. This group bases its activities, not on the study of concrete

reality, but on abstract historical analogies.

"Discrepancy between word and deed—such is the principal disease from which this group suffers. Hence its disappointment and its constant discontent with its fate, which often misleads it and leaves it 'fooled.' The name of this group is Menshevism (in Russia), opportunism (in Europe). At the London Congress Comrade Tyshko (Yogisches) rather aptly characterized this group by saying that it does not stand, but lies, on the Marxian point of view." (*Ibid.*)

In describing the second group, that of the real Marxists, Comrade Stalin shows that it is particularly distinguished from the other because it practices a living Marxism and applies it in practical life.

"This, properly speaking, explains why in the activities of this group there is no discrepancy between word and deed, and why the teachings of Marx fully preserve their living, revolutionary force. To this group can be fully applied the words of Marx that Marxists cannot rest content with explaining the world, they must go further and change it. The name of this group is Bolshevism, Communism.

"The organizer and leader of this group is V. I. Lenin." (P. 6.)

Lenin developed the conception of the building of a compact, steel-hardened Communist Party of the working class. The struggle for the unity of the Party, its compactness, its irreconcilability in struggle with the enemy, its clarity of perspective and confidence in victory—

* Joseph Stalin, *Lenin*, International Publishers, New York.

these were Lenin's requirements of a revolutionary party of the proletariat.

Lenin held high the banner of Marxism. He defended revolutionary theory in the struggle against the enemy. Therefore, Lenin's struggle against the "Economists" was at the same time a struggle against international opportunism. Lenin was the first in the history of international Socialism to reveal the social causes and the ideological sources of opportunism; he proved that only a party of the working class which, in its activities, relies upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism, is capable of uniting the working class movement with socialism.

Furthermore, Lenin's imperishable service to the cause of the proletariat lay in the fact that he exposed, at the moment of its appearance, the danger of the Menshevik "plan"—to limit oneself in Russia to the economic struggle of the workers—and that he countered it by setting up his own plan for a revolutionary party of the proletariat. The essence of this plan, as described by Comrade Stalin, was as follows:

"To establish an all-Russian political newspaper which was to serve as the center of attraction of Party forces, to organize steadfast Party cadres in the localities as 'regular units' of the Party, to gather these cadres into a single whole through the medium of a newspaper, and to unite them into an all-Russian militant party with strictly defined limits, with a clear program, firm tactics and a single will—this was the plan that Lenin developed in his celebrated pamphlets: *What Is To Be Done?* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*. The merit of this plan lay in the fact that it fully answered the requirements of Russian conditions, and that, in a masterful manner, it generalized the organizational experience of the best practical workers. In the struggle for this plan, the majority of the Russian practical workers resolutely followed Lenin and were not dismayed by the prospect of a split. The victory of this plan laid the foundation for the compact and steel-hardened Communist Party, which has no equal in the world." (Pp. 8-9.)

Comrade Stalin goes on to emphasize the great service rendered by Lenin in the period of the first bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, in 1905. The revolutionary situation demanded that the proletariat should take the lead and should rally around itself the revolutionary peasants; and that a struggle should be carried on simultaneously against tsarism and the bourgeoisie. In this situation, the Mensheviks chose an opportunist line of betrayal of the working class, representing their treachery as "real" Marxism.

"The Mensheviks, however, those very Mensheviks who 'lie' on the Marxian point of view, solved the problem in their own way; they argued as follows: as the Russian revolution is a bourgeois revolution, and as in bourgeois revolutions the representatives of the bourgeoisie lead (compare the history of the French and German revolutions), the proletariat cannot win the hegemony in the Russian revolution; leadership must be left to the Russian bourgeoisie (the very bourgeoisie which betrays the revolution), the peasantry also should be left to the care of the bourgeoisie, while the proletariat should remain in the position of an extreme Left opposition. And these vulgar refrains from bad liberal songs were presented by the Mensheviks as the last word of 'genuine' Marxism."

Lenin exposed this Menshevik "scheme of the revolution." In his pamphlets *Two Tactics* and *The Victory of the Cadets*, Lenin developed the tactical plan and precisely formulated the task of the proletariat as holding the hegemony of the revolution, and pointed out the path for the transformation of the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist one.

"The victory of this plan laid the foundation for the revolutionary tactics by which our Party is now shaking the foundations of world imperialism."

The founders of the Bolshevik Party—Lenin and Stalin—have always taught the Party to link up progressive theory with revolutionary practice.

"In order to retain the post of leader of the proletarian revolution and of the

proletarian party, one must combine theoretical power with practical organizational experience of the proletarian movement."

Thus did Comrade Stalin characterize Lenin as leader of the proletarian revolution, uniting within himself the experience of revolutionary practice with revolutionary theory and a far-reaching political view.

After the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin kept high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Under this banner, the peoples of the Soviet Union have achieved their great victories in socialist construction.

One cannot read "The Lenin Heritage," the speech delivered by Comrade Stalin at the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., January 26, 1924, without profound emotion. For the six points of Comrade Stalin's vow are a fighting, powerful appeal to further struggle and further victory.

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of holding aloft and guarding the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your bequest with honor." (P. 15.)

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding the unity of our Party like the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfil this bequest of yours with honor." (P. 16.)

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil also this bequest of yours with honor." (P. 17.)

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening with all our might the alliance between the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfill also this bequest of yours with honor." (P. 17.)

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and expanding the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will carry out also this bequest of yours with honor." (P. 18.)

"In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and expand the union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International." (P. 20.)

On this, the fifteenth anniversary of the death of the great Lenin, the working people of the Soviet Union and progressive mankind the world over can see that Lenin's bequest has been fulfilled. The leading Section of the Communist International—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—under Stalin's leadership has fulfilled Lenin's bequest.

The fulfilling of Lenin's bequest assured the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, upon one-sixth of the earth's surface.

* * *

It is with much love and warmth that Comrade Stalin in this book describes Lenin as human being and friend. In his account of his first meeting with Lenin—in December, 1905, at the conference of the Bolsheviks in Tammerfors, Finland—Comrade Stalin stresses Lenin's simplicity and modesty. He writes as follows:

"It is the accepted thing for a 'great man' to come late to meetings so that the other people gathered at the meeting should wait on tenterhooks of expectation for his appearance; and just before the appearance of the great man, the people at the meeting say, 'Sh . . . Silence . . . He is coming.' This rite seemed to me necessary because it makes an impression, it imbues one with respect. Imagine my disappointment when I learned that Lenin had arrived at the meeting before the delegates, and having ensconced himself in a corner was conversing, holding an ordinary conversation, with the ordinary delegates to the conference. I will not conceal from you that at that time this seemed to me somewhat of a violation of certain necessary rules.

"Only later did I realize that this simplicity and modesty of Lenin, this

striving to remain unobserved, or at all events, not to make himself prominent, not to emphasize his high position—this feature was one of Lenin's strongest sides as a new leader of new masses, of simple and ordinary masses, of the very 'rank and file' of humanity." (Pp. 22-23.)

In his book, *Lenin*, Comrade Stalin gives us a picture of Lenin as a revolutionary fighter. Never did Lenin bewail a defeat, nor was he proud and boastful in victory; he always soberly estimated the strength of the opponent and warned the Party of possible surprises. Lenin was always closely linked up with the masses and firmly believed in their creative capacities.

"Confidence in the creative power of the masses—this is the peculiar feature in the activities of Lenin which enabled him to understand the spontaneous movement and direct it into the channels of the proletarian revolution." (P. 29.)

In his characterization of Lenin as the genius of revolution, Comrade Stalin points out that, in the most difficult sit-

uations, Lenin was always able to find the right way, that he always set audacious revolutionary tasks and issued clear tactical slogans.

"Brilliant foresight, the ability rapidly to catch and appreciate the inner sense of impending events—this is the feature of Lenin that enabled him to outline the correct strategy and a clear line of conduct at the turning points of the revolutionary movement." (P. 31.)

Comrade Stalin's book, *Lenin*, helps the international proletariat to understand the essence of Leninism. Mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, the arming of ourselves with a knowledge of the laws of social development, is indispensable for the international proletariat and leads it more rapidly towards the successful struggle for its liberation.

The new edition of Comrade Stalin's book, *Lenin*, in various languages is a valuable contribution to the history of revolutionary experience for all who are ready for the struggle for the emancipation of humanity from brutal fascism and capitalist oppression.

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

Prepared under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.

384 pages

Price \$1.00

A Chronicle of the Decay in Germany

THE economic and cultural decline of the German people is becoming all the more pronounced. After the latest arbitrary act of Hitler, after the final suppression of Czechoslovakia, the German Propaganda Minister Goebbels announced to the world that the:

"Germans are again in the arena of international affairs and the Reich must be reckoned with in all modern political calculations. . . ." (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, March 21.)

But even Goebbels cannot avoid dealing with the question of the ever worsening standard of living of the German people.

In his article entitled "Coffee Aunties," published in the *Voelkischer Beobachter* on March 11, an article in which he derided in very jeering terms those Germans who are accustomed to the drinking of coffee, we also find the following sentence:

"If we . . . are not able to import more coffee into Germany the explanation is to be found in the reduction in the exchange reserve, which, as is known, must be claimed for other more important things. . . .

"We do not wish in this case to use the sharp antithesis of 'First cannon and then coffee' but we regard the consistent carrying through of the *rearmament of Germany* as more important than the providing of our coffee aunties with sufficient coffee."

But although Goebbels expressly emphasized that he had no "wish in this case to use the sharp antithesis 'First cannon and then coffee'" in the concluding part of his article he applied it only too clearly when he said:

"Therefore, we have arranged for the

disappearance of this coffee worm. In times when coffee is scarce, and that is the case at present, reasonable people drink very little coffee or even none at all. The vulgar types and coffee aunts have got to wait until there is again sufficient coffee."

According to published reports the national committee of confectioners has issued a circular regarding the regulations affecting the sale of coffee, stating that the following measures are in effect: the coffee dealer will receive a minimum supply of coffee beans one week and only blended coffee the following week. The pastry shops, cafes, etc., are directed:

" . . . to adapt themselves as quickly as possible to these indispensable measures of economy, otherwise special detailed measures will have to be taken."

In this way the foodstuffs of the German people are withdrawn one after the other and "substitutes" recommended for them. And it has now become the usual thing for the fascist Minister of Propaganda to characterize the reduction in the supply of foodstuffs as desirable in the interests of the health of the people: white bread is unhealthy, fat and meat are unhealthy, coffee is unhealthy, wine and beer are unhealthy, etc. It is regarded as a "self-evident duty" of the German people that:

" . . . at a time when some foodstuffs or articles of luxury begin to be scarce, it is not only necessary for persons to limit consumption but also completely to renounce them." (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, March 2.)

But every German worker, even on an empty stomach, has got to work like a horse. Here are some extracts from the

fascist press about the excessive exploitation now taking place:

"The hours of labor in the collieries have been increased by forty-five minutes. Lads, who had previously never touched a pick and shovel, have been drawn into this work. Girls give their year of service there. Many appear to give to the limit of their strength in order to meet the required. . . . The reason for the work is not the wage, it is not the extension of any particular factory, it is for National Germany. . . ."

"Our work projects are big, and the demands on our labor forces can hardly be more intense than they are at present. . . . Workers, Work On!" (*Voelkischer Beobachter*, March 21.)

While this article writes only in quite a general way about exploitation of the German workers, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* of the same date publishes another article dealing concretely with the huge demands made on the truck drivers who were mobilized for the western fortifications. First of all we get the large number of workers placed at these "German western fortifications":

"278,000 workers in the Todt organization, in addition to 84,000 workers in other organizations, 100,000 men in the Labor Service, as well as numerous battalions of sappers and divisions of infantry."

The article goes on to say:

"At the highest point of the building operations some 15,200 trucks were used. And every truck carried a daily average of 14.4 tons. In the month of September alone they covered a total of fifty million kilometers, i.e., a length equal to twelve hundred times around the circumference of the earth. In the same month of September the number of loads carried totalled about two million. Thus on the average each truck traveled 4,560 kilometers and carried 182 loads.

Even the *Voelkischer Beobachter* cannot help but to admit that "downright inhuman demands were made on the truck drivers," that there was "no rest either by day or by night" and that "the drivers at that time cursed their dog's life."

These examples of the shameless exploitation of the German workers, who are badly fed and underpaid, can be continued endlessly.

We will, however, also cast a glance at the conditions in the villages. If one believes that the conditions there are better than those of the industrial worker he is greatly mistaken. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* of March 9 published an article by Gustave Behrens, entitled "Stagnation in the Battle of Production." Herr Behrens attributes the catastrophic situation in the German village to the "lack of labor in almost every farm." He is silent, however, about the fact that the lack of labor on the land has been caused by the catastrophic conditions of the peasants and the fact that "regulated economy" results in masses of landworkers going into the industrial centers. We will let Herr Behrens speak for himself:

"I have before me as an example a report about an area in Mecklenburg. The first farm mentioned in this report consists of 160 morgen* and must be farmed by the peasant and his wife alone. On the second farm of 170 morgen the only labor available is that of the peasant and his mother; as a result the number of cows has been reduced by one-half. On a third farm of 170 morgen the peasant, having tried in vain to get laborers and dairy men, now attempts the obviously impossible task of doing the work with the aid of his wife and child of twelve. Under these conditions the peasant is occupied with the thought that cattle must be got rid of. . . . In the same way it is reported that a farm in Saxony has been compelled to reduce the number of milch cows from 95 to 65, in another farm from 60 to 45, on a third from fourteen to seven, and on a fourth from 34 to 25, etc. This is because of the shortage of labor. In one village three peasants sold 28 milch cows in one day. In another place it was proposed to go forward with a plan for exchanging the milch cows for fattening cattle. . . ."

It is obvious that the decline in the

* Morgen: nearly an acre.—Ed.

situation regarding the raising of cattle cannot only be attributed to a shortage of labor. It arises from the whole system of controlled economy in agriculture, the shortage of fodder, the ban on slaughtering, the compulsory milk deliveries, etc. In connection with the decline in cattle-raising the *Statistische Reichsamt* states that the number of horned cattle on December 3, 1938, totalled 19,910,000 head as compared with 20,500,000 head on the same day of the previous year. The number of pigs has declined from 23,850,000 to 23,540,000 and the number of goats from 2,630,000 to 2,510,000.

This terrific exploitation and inadequate nourishment of the working people of Germany result in a continual worsening of the *health of the people*. In the above-cited article Herr Behrens states that:

"The worsening of the health of the youth working on the land as a result of overwork is to be seen on an ever-increasing scale. In Saxony 680 of 1,388 recruits from the land for the S. S. had to be rejected as unfit. In an agriculture school in Saxony only seven of the 66 students were found to be healthy and of these seven students four came from the town. The remaining 59 students suffered from crooked backs and chests, flat feet and other diseases which are a proof of overstrain. . . ."

The fascist periodical *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft* (*German Economy*) deals with the results of the increased exploitation in the German factories. The exploitation has had the following results:

"1. A physical and moral weakening of labor's power of resistance.

"2. In numerous factories it was established that the nervous tension among the workers is to be attributed to the working conditions.

"3. Absence without excuse and the tendency to stay away are manifestly on the increase in the factories."

At the meeting of the committee of the local sick benefit society in Stuttgart the director stated that in the middle of February sickness reached the highest point during the last ten years. During

January, 1939, the number of sick people increased in the average to 4.76 per cent as compared with 3.11 per cent in December, 1938, and by the middle of February it had jumped to 7.8 per cent. What a sudden leap these figures represent is shown by the fact that on some days more than 1,000 cases of sickness are reported, once even 1,732 cases were reported, as compared to the previous average of 350. In these cases only those whose sickness prevents them from continuing their occupation have been included.

And it is with a people in this condition, whose strength has been strained to the utmost limit, whose health has been continually worsened by poor food and over-exertion, that Hitler intends to increase German exports now that his policy of autarchy has run aground. It is intended that this increase of exports shall again take place at the expense of the working class.

What was the position of German exports of 1938? The *Essen National-Zeitung* (February 14) contains a report on "Hamburg's Ocean Traffic in 1938." In this article it is said:

"The decline in Germany's export trade, which is partly to be explained by the unscalable high tariff walls and nationalist strivings, and partly by the general devaluation of world currency, was clearly reflected in the trading figures of Hamburg.

"The trade of the port shows a steep decline of 12.7 per cent. . . . The decline affects all classes of goods but particularly the overseas trade. Shipments of raw materials sank by 673,000 tons or 20.5 per cent, those of manufactured goods by 401,000 tons, or 16.0 per cent. . . ."

In its issue of February 15, the *Essen National-Zeitung* contains an article on "Germany's Coal Exports in 1938." It states:

"We are now in possession of detailed statistics dealing with the foreign trade of Germany during December and the whole of 1938. From these it is clear that 1,864,341 tons of coal were sent abroad by land and water during December as compared with 1,979,254 tons

in November and 2,952,544 tons in the last month of the year 1937. Thus December shows a decline of 114,913 tons in comparison with November and of 1,088,203 tons with December, 1937. The total export for the year 1938 was 29,639,149 tons, which is almost nine million tons (8,989,776 tons) less than in 1937."

German economy cannot tolerate this steep decline of exports. It needs foreign exchange in order to acquire the raw materials essential for the war industries. The increase in the amount of raw materials imported (by 866,000 tons or 8.2 per cent as shown by the Hamburg ocean traffic figures for 1938) was not sufficient to satisfy the claims of the war industries. These demands are unbelievably high. According to the accounts of the *Economist* and the *Banker* expenditure on armaments stands in the following proportion to the general expenditure:

Financial Year (Apr. 1- Mar. 31)	Total Expen- diture	Armament Expen- diture	% of total
(In billions of marks)			
1932-33	6.7	1.0	15
1933-34	9.7	3.0	31
1934-35	12.2	5.5	45
1935-36	16.7	10.0	60
1936-37	18.8	12.2	67
1937-38	23.0	16.0	70

Expenditure on armaments since the existence of the Hitler dictatorship has risen from 1,000,000,000 marks (1932-33) to 16,000,000,000 marks (1937-38). These figures prove the gigantic scale of Hitler's preparation for war and they also make it clear that the decline now affecting the German people in all spheres must be laid to the doors of the war plans of German fascism.

Child Workers in America

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From the Communist Party of Germany

THE Communist Party of Germany has expelled Willi Muenzenberg from its ranks. Already in 1938, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany had occasion to expel Muenzenberg from the Central Committee of the Party. This expulsion of Muenzenberg from the Central Committee was unanimously approved by the following Party conference. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany thereupon proposed to the International Control Commission of the Communist International that it undertake an investigation into the case of Muenzenberg. We publish herewith the decision of the International Control Commission:

DECISION OF THE I.C.C. IN THE MUENZENBERG CASE

The Muenzenberg case was dealt with in the sessions of the International Control Commission of January 20 and February 16, 1939. Muenzenberg was invited in good time to attend this session, which was scheduled for the beginning of January. In the invitation Muenzenberg was expressly informed that the I.C.C. would consider his non-appearance as disregard for the elementary revolutionary discipline of the Party and the working class movement, and would examine and settle the matter in his absence. Muenzenberg refused to appear at the session of the I.C.C. The reasons brought forward by Muenzenberg for his non-appearance were of such a nature that they could only be considered by the I.C.C. as invalid subterfuges. The proceedings therefore took place without his attendance.

The subject-matter of the proceedings consisted of:

1. Muenzenberg's expulsion from the

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany by the Central Committee of the Party and Muenzenberg's objections to this decision.

2. The request by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to investigate the further charges submitted against Muenzenberg.

The I.C.C. had before it all the material relating to the expulsion of Muenzenberg from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, as well as Muenzenberg's letter, in which he raised objection to this expulsion, and his other letters to the Communist International. After careful examination of the material in evidence and verification of the material transmitted by Muenzenberg, the I.C.C. arrived at the following conclusions:

1. In the past, Comrade Thaelmann and other comrades in the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany had had repeatedly to criticize and reprimand Muenzenberg in the sharpest manner, because he gave evidence of an unprincipled attitude in important political questions, showed a propensity towards bluffing in his work, and sought to evade the control and discipline of the Party. Before the fascist dictatorship in Germany, Muenzenberg, as an adherent of the adventurist Neumann group—hostile to the united front—carried on insidious struggle against Ernst Thaelmann, against the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany and its policy. The activity of this group was very severely condemned by the Communist International.

2. When, in 1932, Muenzenberg withdrew—in words—from the Neumann group, the Party and the Communist International assigned to him various

tasks of agitation and propaganda, in order to give him the opportunity of overcoming, through his work, his weaknesses and errors. But under the conditions of the fascist dictatorship, of the difficult illegal position of the Party, which particularly demanded from all Party comrades the most scrupulous regard for Party discipline and the strictest vigilance with regard to the fascist enemy, Muenzenberg lost faith in the power of the working class. Under the conditions of political emigration, detached from the German working class, Muenzenberg became politically demoralized.

3. This demoralization was expressed in his intrigues against the Party and in his relations with Trotskyite elements and other enemies of the working class movement.

Early in 1936, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany was compelled to reprimand Muenzenberg because he divulged internal Party affairs in order to intrigue against the Party leadership. An investigation in 1936 established the fact that Muenzenberg had brought into the circle of his co-workers elements who were strongly suspected—and some of them convicted—of relations with enemies of the anti-fascist movement. Muenzenberg put difficulties in the way of this investigation. From the material now before the I.C.C. it is evident that Muenzenberg entered into relations with such persons and institutions which are under no circumstances in the interests of the working class. Muenzenberg has constantly declined to give any explanation about his connections to the Central Committee of the Party.

4. Muenzenberg's political demoralization was further expressed in his disorganizing activity with regard to efforts to secure a united front and a people's front. In the face of the complicated international situation, of the increasing aggression of fascism, and of the attack of the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie of Great Britain and France upon the people's front, and in the face of the necessity for a more vigorous anti-

fascist struggle, Muenzenberg showed more and more open indications of capitulation.

Muenzenberg used great cunning in trying to conceal this capitulationism. In words, Muenzenberg advocated the unification of all forces in the struggle against fascism; in actual fact, he tried to destroy the union, already started, of various anti-fascist forces. In this, he endeavored to make use of every hesitation of individual partners in the united front or people's front. At conferences of Communists, Social-Democrats and other anti-fascists, Muenzenberg repeatedly acted in a way which did harm to the anti-fascist movement.

In the course of this disorganizing activity, he had recourse to slandering the Party leadership and endeavored to discredit its policy of the united front and people's front, in order to mislead sincere supporters of the united front and people's front, and to undermine their comradely cooperation with the Communists.

5. In addition to his activity behind the scenes, Muenzenberg later proceeded to open propaganda of a Trotskyite character.

Without consulting the Party leadership, and against its will, Muenzenberg published books and pamphlets which are of use to the fascist enemy, including a book by Ludwig which insults and disparages the German people, and an anti-Soviet book by the Trotskyite Sternberg.

Muenzenberg's calumnies regarding the policy of the Party were circulated by him in such a way that they were published in organs in which Trotskyites collaborated and which carry on a constant warfare against the united front and people's front. He allied himself with Trotskyite elements.

Muenzenberg also, therefore, did not comply with the summons of the Party to oppose openly Trotskyite spies and the crimes of the P.O.U.M.

Muenzenberg has always declined to comply with the demand of the Party leadership that he should clarify his relationship with the Party in a discussion with it. Just as characteristic of this development in Muenzenberg was the

fact that he never answered the repeated invitations of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

After his expulsion from the Central Committee, Muenzenberg continued on an increased scale his activity against the policy of the united front and the people's front, and fully exposed his attitude for the liquidation of the Communist Party.

On the grounds of the facts cited, the International Control Commission finds that the expulsion of Muenzenberg from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, and its reasons, to be completely justified.

The International Control Commission conveys to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany the results of the investigation requested by the latter. It is for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany to adopt decisions arising out of them, with regard to Muenzenberg's Party membership.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL
COMMISSION OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF GERMANY

Whereupon, on March 6, 1939, Muenzenberg was expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. We cite below the resolution on his expulsion, adopted by the Central Committee:

EXPULSION OF MUENZENBERG FROM THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

The Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party of Germany resolves to expel Willi Muenzenberg from the ranks of the Communist Party of Germany, on the grounds of his unprincipled and deceitful conduct, of his struggle against the united front, his constant intriguing and disorganizing activity within the people's front movement, his deliberate interference in the cooperation of Communists with other anti-fascist forces, his attempted deception of supporters of the people's front movement, his connection with Trotskyites and other enemies of the working class movement; all of which is equivalent to treachery to the Party and to the working class movement.

In this decision, the Central Committee bases itself on the results of the investigation which was carried out on its request by the International Control Commission of the E.C.C.I.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY

March 6, 1939.

Even before the illegal Communist Party of Germany published this decision, Muenzenberg made use of the delay in publication in order to deceive public opinion. He published a demagogic and calumnious article against the Communist Party of Germany, in which he announced his resignation from the Communist Party of Germany. This traitor, who has been driven out of the heroic Communist Party, is continuing his deception of the working class and all anti-fascists.

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